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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1848

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SOVIET HEGEMONY IN EASTERN EUROPE DISCUSSED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 6 Jan 81 p 8

[Report by Viktor Meier: "Just as Under the Turks in the Old Days--Eastern Europe Under Soviet Hegemony"]

[Text] Prague, January 1981--Milovan Djilas expressed the opinion recently that as regards duration and type of rule the establishment of the Soviet communist dominion over Eastern Europe could be compared only to the Turkish assault of the olden days. In 1526 the Battle of Mohacs opened for the Turks the way to central Europe, and only after the unsuccessful siege of Vienna did the "rollback" begin. Just as Turkish rule in those days, communist domination caused the affected peoples at least to lag behind the general standard of civilization and culture and in some cases even to drop back in absolute terms.

Here in Prague, which externally still creates such a central European impression, one is inclined to assume a dropping back in absolute terms. The Czechs have an excuse, however: shortly before the "Turkish assault" of the Soviets they had fallen victim to another forcible suppression--the Hitlerite one. Two such catastrophes in one generation are too much for a sensitive small nation which in the first republic first had to create a leadership stratum and, in accordance with the Masaryk exemplar, thought it had found it in the intellectuals. The tougher, less demanding Slovaks are having it a little easier.

Love for the Soviet Union, Politburo member Bilak proclaims in Prague again and again, is the criterion of "proletarian internationalism" and thus of communist consciousness. The rule of native proselytes was also particularly onerous under the Turks. Such people are always afraid that lenient exercise of power by the sultan might endanger them first of all. Often subjugation and exploitation were most oppressive wherever the Turks wielded their power indirectly, as for example in the Danubian principalities. Yugoslavia, on the other hand, may be seen as an example of "proselytes" adhering in part to an adopted faith even after they have escaped the sultan's rule.

A lot of thought has been devoted to the nature of Soviet communist rule over Eastern Europe. The Soviets cannot quite manage their subjects, and this endangers world peace. Evidently this is what was meant by the onetime U.S. presidential assistant Sonnenfeldt (who will perhaps soon resume an official position again) when he made the statement, so often misunderstood, almost 5 years ago that the Soviets were not capable of creating any "organic relations" in Eastern Europe and, as a result, constantly conjured up a threat in international affairs.

His remarks in part were interpreted at the time as signaling disinterest in Eastern Europe on the part of the leading Western power. Yugoslavia and Romania regarded them as an offer for fixing the division of the world into blocs. A contribution to such reactions probably was the fact that almost at the same time Suslov newly proclaimed his dogmatic definition of "proletarian internationalism." Many East European voices that were taking aim at Sonnenfeldt at the time actually meant Suslov.

Basically Sonnenfeldt only stated facts. At the latest since 1956, since the Hungarian crisis, the West has recognized de facto the sole rule by the Soviets over Eastern Europe. It was the Europeans who then in Helsinki and later in the Eastern treaties insisted to a far greater degree than the Americans that this should also be laid down in writing. Egon Bahr, with such utterances as he made recently concerning the benefit of mutual adherence to alliances, has remained consistent here. Sonnenfeldt's theses, on the other hand, permit the interpretation of the Soviets being asked at long last to grant their East European subjects more or less tolerable political and economic living conditions as the only possible way of letting a security system such as the Helsinki one become effective. The quiet collapse of this concept of a system in the light of Afghanistan and then Poland and also the collapse, connected with it, of the attempts by Giscard and Schmidt to make international policy appear to confirm this view.

Soviet domination of Eastern Europe today too (hence the temptation to compare it to the Turkish domination) is oriented solely toward absolute, direct and brutal exercise of power. Tsarist Russia in the late 18th and early 19th century and even later, in Finland, in the Baltic and even in Poland, was more subtle--to its benefit. Under Tsar Alexander I, there even was a time, albeit brief, when liberal political ideas flowed from Russia to Europe. Hardly anyone would consider this possible today. After the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939, the Soviet Union interpreted the "influence" it was conceded in Eastern Europe to be exclusively direct and total domination. Thus it pushed the Finns or the Romanians to the German side, as the "lesser evil." Later the Soviets maintained that Eastern Europe was an approach area for attacks against the Soviet Union, which therefore had to be kept under complete control, without the possibility of an independent life and with a break with inherited national traditions.

After the between-the-wars period, so important for national emancipation, this meant a serious setback for the nations affected. Soviet rule in some respects was even more primitive in design than that of the Turks. Imposing on East Europeans altogether a wretched economic system, it had to forgo within a short period even the advantage of fiscal exploitation to which the Turks had resorted to a substantial degree. Stalin's concept of a self-sufficient "socialism in one's own country" was transferred to the countries of eastern and southern Europe. Czechoslovakia, which had already been included in the European division of labor, had itself to take measures to become more primitive economically.

In the beginning the Soviet Union still supported its concept with cheap raw materials. But then this ceased, and the East Europeans were left on their own with the disregard of economic laws that had been imposed on them, the unprofitable steelworks and the ruined agriculture. It makes little difference that in Poland--as also in Yugoslavia--the collectivization of farmers did not succeed. Considering this a defeat, the functionaries tried at least not to have the "kulaks" get rich. Brezhnev and Kosygin never supported reform. They did not carry out any of their own and long observed with distrust those of others, such as the Hungarians.

Now the Soviet Union is confronting in Poland the ruin of its own politics. No one wants to dispute its right to anything or interfere in its security interests, and yet, after already having aroused worldwide opposition over Afghanistan, it is reacting with almost pathological nervousness against the changes and compromises in Poland. Extreme rigidity is going hand in hand with an inability to support its own policies economically. The feeling of "encirclement" which appears to be spreading increasingly among the Soviet leadership because of the committed mistakes probably is already due to phenomena to degeneration of the system.

It is significant that except for Prague and East Berlin none of the Soviet satellites now basically has any use for these policies any longer. In 1968 this was not yet so. Sonnenfeldt recently elucidated his former theses by pointing to the need for a "finlandization" of Eastern Europe--that is, domestic political autonomy of the Eastern European countries while fully maintaining Soviet security interests. The Soviet Union, however, apparently prefers even in its own secured sphere of power to conjure up confrontation and danger for world peace by taking extreme stands.

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SSR MINISTER DISCUSSES NATIONAL COMMITTEES

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 Nov 80 p 3

[Article by Stefan Lazar, SSR minister of the interior]

[Text] In the forthcoming conclusion of the final year of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, all party, state and economic organs and organizations of our entire society concentrate their attention on fulfilling the economic and social program, adopted at the 15th CPCZ Congress. In this effort an especially important role is played by the national committees. During the entire course of socialist development the national committees, under the leadership of the CPCZ, presented themselves as an important political force playing a major role in the revolutionary successes in our country's development. This is demonstrated by the results of the great work they perform in many areas of social activity.

It is a telling fact that the national committees are in charge of one-third of the budget earmarked for housing construction, services, education, culture, health, social security, road transportation and other sectors of the state administration. One of the most valuable results of their creative application of the policy laid down by the CPCZ is the development of socialist democracy and the involvement of the broad masses of the working people in the administration of state and public affairs. In this way the people directly participate in democratic decisionmaking as well as in managing our huge material resources. Through their creative initiative, the national committees significantly contribute to the realization of the National Front's election programs which are based on the basic goals of the party's policy.

This characteristic of the election programs is underlined by the fact that these programs originated in pre-election rallies, in other words, they are based on social needs and possibilities and are injected with new ideas every year. True, the most important fact is that these programs are being realized with the direct participation of hundreds of thousands of our people. During the last 4 years alone, they have created a value of over Kcs 7 billion within the framework of a beautification action in the SSR. This represents hundreds of public facilities which improve conditions for a rich cultural-social and public life. We appreciate these huge material assets. However, at the same time we also emphasize their moral-political significance because they prove that the overwhelming majority of our people are sincerely interested in progress, and in the faster building of a developed socialist society.

Labor Reserves Must Be Used More Effectively

While we appreciate the work of the national committees which cooperate with the organizations of the National Front in social development, we do not want to deny that the national committees could do more in improving the effectiveness of their political-educational and economic-organizational work. The strategic task of the 15th CPCZ Congress--which was specifically emphasized at the 14th and 15th plenums of the CPCZ Central Committee and at subsequent plenums, namely, to improve quality, effectiveness and frugality in every sector of our life--is fully applicable also to the national committees.

In the fulfillment of this task, the national committees can rely on an important document adopted by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium in April 1979 which specifies the complex tasks of their further development. A specific characteristic of the activities of the national committees as territorial organs of state power and administration is their complex relationship with the economic, political, social and cultural life of citizens and with all those changes required in the process of building a developed socialist society. Consequently, in the years to come as well, the further strengthening of the class character of the national committees and improvement of their work is necessary for an effective development of socialist democracy. True, the strengthening of the leading role of the CPCZ has a decisive influence on the overall effective function of the national committees, their elected organs, their apparatus and the citizens' activists. All this also calls for higher demands on communists, both as deputies and staff workers of the national committees. Much depends on their political work, personal adherence to principled attitude, and their ability to serve as an example because only in this way is it possible to successfully implement the party's policy and the resolutions of the highest party organs in practice. Related to this is a duty of leading functionaries to critically uncover reserves and shortcomings in the work of the national committees, improve the political and technical qualifications of deputies and staff workers, and train people in the solution of not only current, but also future demanding tasks.

Evaluating the results of the Sixth Five-Year Plan to date, we can easily identify a need for a better relationship of the plenary meetings, councils, commissions and other organs of the national committees with the all-societal tasks in the interest of a complex development of the territorial units within which they work. A positive characteristic is undoubtedly also the fact that the overwhelming majority of some 62,000 deputies of the national committees in the SSR are still very active as the end of their current term approaches. These deputies are engaged in a creative search for ways of solving the existing problems. They regularly meet with their constituents, report to them on their work, and respect their suggestions and recommendations.

We Must Be More Sensitive to the Needs of Our Citizens

However, it is necessary to state openly that we have not achieved everywhere the improvement necessary in the work of the technical apparatus of the national committees. Particularly, we have been unable to eliminate all red tape, superfluous paperwork and unsensitive attitude toward the justified claims citizens. The large number of the letters which the working people address to party and control organs

as well as to national committees demonstrates the sincere interest in eliminating from our lives everything which slows down progress. Hence, it is a duty of functionaries, especially of kraj and okres national committees, to solve with more determination all cases of irresponsible work, slapdash, indifferent and wasteful work and direct violations of laws to which our working people refer in their letters.

Even when the national committees on the whole fulfill each year the tasks of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, this does not mean that in their activity they do not encounter problems and are free of shortcomings. For a long time now the achievement of better results has been slowed down by shortages in material-technical supply, delayed deliveries of technological equipment, delays in territorial and planning preparations of construction projects and ineffective measures to reduce the number of unfinished construction projects and hasten completion of plants. It is also necessary to manage better the working time fund and strictly observe financial and planning discipline.

In the struggle to improve the effectiveness and quality of work of the organizations managed by the national committees, it is necessary in the first place to reveal those shortcomings and reserves which have subjective characteristics. This means to improve the quality, selection and volume of services, and improve the situation in car repairs and tourism. This, to a certain extent, depends on intra-enterprise management and control. We must not see the only panacea in capital construction or blame everything on the shortage of spare parts. After all, the local economy in Slovakia has at its disposal basic production funds in the amount of Kcs 4.5 billion. Even if we admit a need for further modernization of local economy plants and workshops, it is certainly possible to achieve better results with what we have right now. The same can be said about the enterprises of the Czechoslovak State Automobile Transportation and the Czechoslovak Automobile Repair Shops which have great possibilities to achieve better results, especially by saving fuel, utilizing their vehicles more effectively, as well as repairing parts. In the years to come it will be necessary more than ever to pay attention to efficiency and saving fuel, electric power, raw materials, etc. This can be better understood if I state that up to one-fifth of the entire consumption of all types of power in Slovakia is used by buildings managed by the national committees. Naturally, we cannot discuss these questions now. However, these problems must be effectively solved in harmony with the Set of Measures for Improving the Planned Management System of the National Economy After 1980.

Need to Realize the Demands Contained in the Document of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee

The problems to be dealt with by the national committees are in the drafting process of the Seventh Five-Year Plan worked out on the basis of the aforementioned document of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee of April 1979. What are the most important questions in this respect? The document emphasizes the need to increase the role of the national committees in coordinating the economic and social development of territorial districts through the system of regional planning. Our important duty is--following the main trend of the Set of Measures--to primarily improve the situation in the plan and budget indices and economic instruments. We must also improve the quality of technical management according to the nature of

the sector as far as relations toward enterprises and organizations for which the national committees are responsible are concerned. We must also eliminate shortcomings in the individual sectors of work of the national committees insofar as they are under the direction of ministries and other central organs of the state administration. Within the framework of these measures the responsibility of the ministries grows even during the drafting of the plan and budget of the national committees as well as during the detailed breakdown of tasks and subsequent control thereof.

In addition, the aforementioned document of the presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee also serves as a base for solving problems related to the effectiveness of the work of the national committees in focal point communities and cities. This is quite natural because the ever-growing participation of our people in the administration and management of our society is linked to the process of strengthening the jurisdiction and position of the national committees. Improving the system of national committees, starting with their lower level, is in line with the important task spelled out at the 15th CPCZ Congress which emphasized the need to improve the effectiveness of work of the national committees in large cities, new settlements and focal point communities. We are also correctly reacting to structural changes in the resettlement policy in our country. The movement of people to large cities and focal point communities also requires a necessary concentration of services, educational and health facilities, cultural and adult education institutions and, last but not least, dynamic housing construction. For all practical purposes we are witnessing the creation of large territorial units. During the last few years this has become a permanent trend in development. This, too, puts higher demands on the national committees, which must, under new and more challenging conditions, better execute their functions and meet the justified demands of our citizens.

In this connection it is necessary to emphasize the personal responsibility of functionaries and deputies of the national committees for the implementation of these important obligations and for their entire work. Comrade Vasil Bilak stated the following at the 15th plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee: "Responsible workers, organs and organizations must be evaluated not only according to the way in which they have broken down the directives or according to the number of lectures or schools they organized or visited but, in the first place, according to the concrete results of their work." No formalism, especially in the political-education work of the national committees, must be permitted. Plenary meetings, councils, and commissions of the national committees must not be satisfied with a mere discussion of reports concerning citizens' activities which often contain unreliable data concerning brigade hours, number of participants, etc. It is necessary to pay more attention to the political preparations of public meetings. In this respect we expect more from the citizens' committees which function as a basic political aktiv of local organs of state power and administration, especially in cities and large villages. For some time experience has shown that public meetings of the national committees are better attended in our villages than in the cities, although the majority of Slovak population lives in the latter. It is not enough to speak at public meetings in vague terms. Our citizens are interested in concrete things related to their housing, services, building of nurseries and kindergartens, improving environment, etc. In those places in which public meetings are planned with this in mind there is no problem with participation. Also in such places the results of these meetings are reflected in concrete creative work in the fulfillment of the National Front's election programs.

In the process of building a developed socialist society new human relations appear, public order is strengthened, and the responsibility of millions of people for

socialist property grows. To put it simply, a socialist way of life develops which is based on the full development of the individual, on his relation to socialism, and on the understanding of and support for the policy of the CPCZ. For this reason it is necessary to emphasize the responsibilities of the national committees to improve the inhabitants' share in the administration of new developments and city districts. It is necessary to educate those who do not work enough, or do not work at all, that they must contribute to the fulfillment of those parts of the election program whose goal is to make our life better and more comfortable if they want to share in the benefits.

What Kind of New Election Programs?

The significance of the effective political-educational work of the national committees becomes of foremost interest especially now, when we are starting the preparatory work on the 16th CPCZ Congress and completing our drafting of the Seventh Five-Year Plan. For this reason we can see the importance of a statement made by Comrade Gustav Husak at the 18th Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee addressed to the national committees: "We must continue to strive for full utilization of a great potential of social activity and initiative of our working people represented by the national committees and the entire political system of the National Front. National committees, social organizations and state organs must improve their work dealing with the suggestions, proposals, recommendations and complaints submitted by the working people. We must see to it that the national committees are more effective in their utilization of possibilities, and that they more responsibly fulfill their obligations and duties within the vast sphere of the national economy under their direction."

In this spirit we must also prepare the new election programs of the National Front. These programs must be drafted in such a way as to optimally reflect the possibilities and needs of our socialist society, implement the spirit of the Seventh Five-Year Plan and, through their overall direction, lead to the realization of all-societal tasks which are directly related to the fulfillment of the goals of the CPCZ's economic and social policy. The election programs will even in the future be formulated as open documents and will be made more specific in accordance with social needs. From the point of view of our localities it is necessary to pay primary attention to the completion of unfinished projects and, in the second place, to the building of new ones which will satisfy the everyday needs of our citizens and are in accordance with the long-term settlement policy. The national committees and social organizations of the National Front, in cooperation with our economic organs, must set priorities for which funds will be provided and which will serve the broadest masses of our people. A primary obligation will remain the construction of preschool and school facilities for educating our youngest generation. Greater emphasis must be placed on the creation and protection of environment. We must build and enlarge our green areas, and effectively utilize the voluntary and specific work of our citizens engaged in the beautification program and in the traditional and tested socialist competition of the national committees.

The improvement in the development of the effectiveness of the work of the national committees is an inseparable part of the overall socioeconomic and political development of society. Each and every deputy and staff worker of the national committees must keep in mind that the demand for consistently high-quality and effective work will be doubly valid in future years. For this reason they must rely more on the ability and industry of our people, and in close cooperation with them, do the utmost to help develop our socialist fatherland.

NEW PROBLEMS IN CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS DISCUSSED

West German Analysis of Background

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 13 Dec 80 p 6

[Article by Peter Jochen Winters, datelined Berlin, in December: "The Church Over There Takes Cover--SED Terminates the Modus Vivendi with Bishop Schoenherr"]

[Text] "They stressed their resolve constructively to continue the course discussed between GDR State Council Chairman Erich Honecker and the board of the Conference of Church Leaders on 6 March 1978." That is the way it was put in the report published with a 1-day delay in the official GDR news agency ADN about the most recent meeting between GDR State Secretary for Church Affairs Gysi and representatives of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR on 17 November. Observers have taken this formulation as a signal that the SED intends not to exacerbate but rather mitigate the tough course against the evangelical churches in the GDR steered since October. We must warn against such optimism. The reference to 6 March 1978--if one is to believe those who attended the discussion--amounted merely to some sort of incantation.

The rhetoric here pertains to a development in church policy which no longer exists since the SED changed course in its Bonn policy--the mandatory currency exchange increase and Honecker's Gera speech and its bulkhead measures--vis-a-vis Poland. There is at present hardly any validity left to what had begun on 6 March 1978, when the state accepted the churches' claim to working in the world with the complete separation from the state and exercise, as it were, a political mandate of the Christians, promising equality of and equal respect for all citizens, their unrestricted involvement in the shaping of the developed socialist society. In wanting to continue in that direction, one has to start all over again.

Bishop Schoenherr, almost 70 years old, the chairman of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR since 1969, when the provincial churches in the GDR separated and established their independence from the all-German "Evangelical Church in Germany," early on coined the term of the "Church in socialism." Evangelical churches in the GDR were a Church neither alongside nor against, but a Church in socialism. Being that, the Church should have to help the individual citizen and individual congregation find their way in socialist society through the freedom and obligation of faith and should seek the best for all and for the commonwealth. Both the state and the Church, from their respective premises,

were engaged in the exercise of responsibility for the same world and the same people being, at once, citizens and proponents of a fundamental conviction. A frank conversation between state and Church--in which each would have to respect the identity of the other--would therefore not only be useful but vital.

This dialog with the state, started by the church executives on 6 March 1978 and soon referred to as the "Schoenherr Course" in church circles, certainly has relaxed the state-Church relationship in recent years and provided many an improvement for churches and Christians in the GDR. Churches may, for instance, be erected in new construction areas. That was the price the SED was willing to pay to keep churches and Christians from drifting into the opposition and have them participate in the construction of socialism--not last as diligent manpower. In matters of principle, however, the party, even after 6 March 1978, barred the churches from having something to say. To be sure, the Evangelical churches were allowed to protest as much against the introduction of mandatory military education in the GDR's general education schools as against the mandatory educational objective vested in the new school system of turning all children into "communist personalities." Such church protests accomplished virtually nothing, hushed up as they are of course in the GDR mass media. Never did the state accept them as "corrective criticism" but has always emphasized the party's leadership role.

When the Peace Intentions of the Church Become Concrete

The churches' commitment to peace has not only been tolerated by the SED but even been encouraged, and the independent responsibility of the Church for world peace has been accepted, as long as it has been directed, for example, against the deploying of American medium-range missiles in Europe. To that end, the SED even permitted joint peace campaigns of the Evangelical churches in the GDR with the Evangelical churches in the FRG. Bishop Schoenherr was allowed to talk in person or on the telephone with the Federal Chancellor to dissuade him from that NATO rearmament resolution. Yet when the Church opposed the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and criticized the overly long belligerent reports by GDR media of the summer maneuvers by the Warsaw Pact in the GDR, such "independent responsibility for peace" was quickly throttled. "When the peace intentions of the Church become concrete, the state is no longer interested," a clergyman has commented.

In his talk with Honecker on 6 March 1978, Bishop Schoenherr had said the state-Church relationship could be no better than what an individual Christian citizen found it to be in his own social situation locally. In the Christian congregations, the parishes and the synods as well, the "Schoenherr Course" came to meet with increasing skepticism. There the uneasy question is being raised whether the Church had not had too many dealings with the state, was making too many concessions, did not have enough courage to point to the continuing difficulties the Christians had in socialist society and to insist on Honecker's keeping his promises. Some criticized the attitude of the church executives toward the party and the state as "accommodation" and "obsequiousness."

What seems to have caused special annoyance is the fact that when church associates travel to the West, the Church itself has virtually taken over the function of the state. Church authorities pass travel applications on to the state and thus are involved in the decision on who may travel. As they have to assume the

responsibility, to the state, for having every church official who travels to the West return, and as they also know the state will grant fewer travel applications rather than more of them, they keep the number of travelers as small as possible or they let the same people travel time and again. That has given rise to the angry term of "ecclesiastic Western travel cadres." The bitter question whether it was actually Christian that bishops and ladies and gentlemen of the church executives could constantly travel to the West, whereas a small village parson or ordinary members of his congregation hardly ever got the chance to attend ecclesiastic events in the West, is something one has often heard in the GDR in recent years.

"What was promised on 6 March 1978 about equality of opportunity for Christians in their trade and in the educational system has not yet become an accepted fact in our society. In many places, new conflicts arise," as the church executive of the Evangelical provincial church in the ecclesiastical province of Saxony complained recently, and it added that the SED was appointing by nomination more and more leadership and executive positions. That turned the affirmation of Marxism-Leninism into a basic prerequisite for being involved in management decisions and hence, in a managerial manner, in social development. It would bring it about that Christians, however much they may be qualified to engage in executive tasks, would less and less be considered for such participation in social affairs.

The question whether the "Schoenherr Course" was worthwhile for the Evangelical churches and the Evangelical Christians in the GDR altogether or whether the churches had not gone rather the wrong way, need not be discussed in the GDR anymore, however. The SED itself has changed its church policy and departed from the course taken on 6 March 1978. Church publications have been censored, withheld or forced to make revisions. Critical reports were not allowed to be published. Western correspondents were barred from provincial synods in the GDR and from reporting on them. For the first time, permission was withheld from representatives of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR to attend as guests a synod of the Evangelical Church in Germany.

One of those who attended the talks of 6 March 1978, Politburo member Paul Verner, who as the Central Committee Secretary for Security also is responsible for church affairs, recently made clear in a conversation with Bishop Schoenherr, which should rather be called a "dressing down," that the SED was no longer willing to grant the Church that modest margin of freedom it gained for itself after 6 March 1978. With unconcealed mistrust toward the churches, Verner expressed himself about the "all-German connivances" of the Church, which would have to stop just as much as any of those telephone calls with the Federal Chancellor or superfluous trips to the West. That influential party secretary came out against critical church utterances about Afghanistan as much as against the broad reports on the maneuvers in the GDR media and on the ~~minimum~~ exchange increases for Western visitors to the GDR. In the report by the church executive of the Greifswald Evangelical provincial Church to the synod that conferred in Zuesow in mid-November, this is a pertinent comment on it: "When the state and party become concerned that ecclesiastic concerns affect the power question within our society, the state will evidently no longer be ready to talk with the Church."

The power question is what the party and the state find at present touched upon in almost all matters the Evangelical churches in the GDR would like to discuss candidly with their state, be it the mandatory exchange rate--through the drastic increase of which personal meetings between families and good friends are becoming less frequent and shorter or fall by the wayside altogether--, the education into "communist personalities," the disadvantages met with by Christian children in the educational and training system, the barring of management positions to Christians, the church criticism of the virtual prevention of private travel between Poland and the GDR, of the Soviet Union's military intervention in Afghanistan, and the peace campaigns sponsored by the Evangelical churches such as the originally planned ringing of bells all at the same time everywhere in the GDR to go along with a "minute of peace."

After the dressing down from Verner, the Church has taken cover. Thus, a meaningful dialog between the state and the Evangelical churches is impossible right now. The principles of 6 March 1978 failed to stand up as a basis that could possibly take some stress for a confident development between the state and the Church, which some had imagined they were. Unless they want to let themselves be taken in by the party and the state or debased into plain acquiescence, where they merely applaud, or tacitly take notice of, the actions and announcements of the party and the state, the Evangelical churches in the GDR must now seriously consider how they want to shape their relations with the state in the future. Here incantations about 6 March 1978 will be of little consequence.

Christians Must Promote Socialism

East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 3 Jan 81 p 5

[Commentary by Karl Hennig on "Basic Rights of Citizens in Socialist Society," a publication from an authors' collective headed by Prof Dr Eberhard Poppe: "Based on the Constitution"]

[Text] An authors' collective headed by Prof Dr Eberhard Poppe has published, through the state publishing house, a study entitled "Basic Rights of Citizens in Socialist Society," which comprehensively and informatively explains each citizen's rights and duties as vested in our Constitution. The basic right to freedom of belief (Article 20) and the constitutional integration of the work of churches and religious communities (Article 39) are commented on there with remarkable care. For it is a fact that these pronouncements of constitutional law help explain the consequences and guarantees of the fundamental principles in the church-state relations and of the Christians' position of equality under socialism.

The point of departure is that through establishing the antifascist-democratic order (1945) and founding our workers and farmers state (1949), churches and religious communities in our country obtained a qualitatively new position as well. "The revolutionary transformation of society in the GDR was crucial for the freedom of belief and the exercise of religion. The forces that were misusing religion and the church for antihuman goals were rendered impotent."

That obtaining this qualitatively new freedom of belief and religion in socialism is a process that goes along with our social development and depends on the degree to which Christians involve themselves in social affairs is underscored by the authors when they say that "citizens of different world-outlooks and religious affiliation, Marxists and believers of Christians and Jewish denominations" work together in confidence. "All have a part in the people's growing material and cultural standard of living, live in social security, and know their rights, personality and freedom are reliably protected." It is pointed out that Christian and Jewish citizens have helped construct the socialist society and have a solid position in this society.

In picking up the statements by Erich Honecker and Albrecht Schoenherr when they talked with each other on 6 March 1978, the authors of this publication nail down at once two constants which are of importance to preserving the freedom of belief throughout our further social development:

For one thing, there is the Christians' continued active and conscious participation in the shaping of our social development. Here the demand for the right to the freedom of belief cannot be detached from the totality of the basic rights and basic duties vested in the Constitution as they apply to each citizen. The constant requirement for making this dialectical process conscious is being stressed by the authors by their placing the political work of our party within the context of preserving the freedom of faith: "Especially the CDU has taken on the task to promote an active participation by the citizens of Christian faith in the construction of the new society."

And then, in preserving the freedom of faith, consideration is called for the fact that Christians and churches in the GDR live in a state that has "a special responsibility for safeguarding peace as it is located on the line of demarcation between differing social systems and military alliances," as was recently stressed in a radio commentary by the senior church councillor Manfred Stolpe. Not to be excluded, as the publication emphasizes, is that "the imperialist forces keep trying to affect citizens with religious ties and religious communities in the GDR through anticommunist agitation in 'Christian' garb and ideological diversion so as to push them into opposition to the socialist state and to socialist development." Resisting such influences therefore is as much part of the assumption and exercise of the constitutional right to the freedom of belief and to the exercise of religion as the exercise of the many possibilities for actively taking part in the deeply humanistic purposes of socialism.

West German Commentary

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 3 Jan 81 p 4

[Article by "Wa," datelined Berlin, 2 Jan 81: "A Political 'Muzzle' for the Protestant Churches in the GDR--Responsibility for the 'Whole' as Exception." A translation of the speech by Dr Guenter Wirth cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The GDR's state leadership now evidently wants to see to it that the Evangelical churches in the GDR no longer take a public stand on sociopolitical

matters in the GDR. This is indicated not only by the sharper censorship for church publications. At a conference of the CDU Main Executive Committee, the chief editor of the Evangelical monthly STANDPUNKT, the mouthpiece of the GDR's CDU, Wirth, who also is a presidium member of the CDU Main Executive Committee and the vice president of the GDR Culture League, said this: "If the church under its own responsibility wants to advance considerations that are relevant to society as a whole, it will continue to apply none but confident conversation as its working tool." It means the church may be allowed to present its opinion when talking with the state but will, as a church, keep quiet about these topics in public, not present its position in public. There is, to be sure, one exception: in exercising its responsibility for the whole, the church could become active "where developments arise in the psychological warfare against socialist society that assume a character that endangers peace." That means the church is not only permitted but it is even desirable for it to take a public stand, aided by its ecumenical connections, in the sense of communist agitation, against the so-called "missile resolution of NATO," for instance. It is prevented, however, from publicly criticizing, in the same breath, the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, for example.

If clergy and Christians want to commit themselves and assume responsibility to society, they could do so, "party-mindedly," like every GDR citizen, in the parties and mass organizations of the GDR. In this connection Wirth refers to Article 20 of the GDR Constitution, which states: "Every citizen of the GDR shall have the same rights and duties, irrespective of nationality, race, philosophy or religious confession, social origin or position." With reference to the basic talks between State Council Chairman Honecker and the chairman of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR, on 6 March 1978, Wirth says--and he may well be seen as the propagandist for the current church policy course of the GDR party and state leadership--it was in the interest of extending those talks to be careful in differentiating between their levels: "The level on which church life can develop validly and in freedom and the other level pertaining to the exercise of the Christians' social responsibility as citizens."

This muzzle in sociopolitical matters imposed by the state the Evangelical Church must oppose by its claim "to observing processes and developments in the society to which it knows it belongs in attentive and responsible concern, expressing itself about it, if necessary," as Magdeburg's Bishop Krusche formulated it in July 1978. At that time, the bishop, in the name of the five member churches in the Evangelical Union Church in the GDR, added that if "this attentive concern as demanded and motivated by the Gospel and the Gospel-oriented influence on social events" were ever to be given short shrift in the Federation of the Evangelical churches in the GDR, it would "no doubt" be "urged" by the Union Church. The time for that has come now, it seems.

CDU Official on Church Obligations

East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 2 Jan 81 p 3

[Speech by Dr Guenter Wirth, presidium member, CDU Main Executive Committee; chief editor, STANDPUNKT; at Ninth Conference of CDU Main Executive Committee, East Berlin, 9 Dec 80: "Long-range Possibilities for Christian Commitment"]

[Text] On 5 October 1980, MECKLENBURGISCHE KIRCHENZEITUNG reported on the Leipzig Synod of the Federation under the headline "No New Alliance Between Throne and Altar."

As far as this meant to reflect the constitutional situation in our country and endorse the conception of the "church in socialism," such a headline was perfectly in order. It could, to be sure, lead to mistaken assumptions to the effect that the "danger" of such a "new" alliance could actually arise among us.

It therefore is obviously not unimportant, especially in view of this historic sensitivity we are bound to have under the burden of this "legacy" of "throne and altar," to bring to mind the actual content of that system of "throne and altar." The "Theological Lexicon" of the Union publishing house points out that that system arose with the challenge of absolutism and was led to "classic perfection" in "German provincial churches." "They differentiated between the more narrow matters of faith and liturgy, which the theological faculties and ecclesiastic bodies could decide on in their own competency and the external matters of church life that were subject to the state's sovereignty over the church (e.g., the right to appoint higher church dignitaries, the right to confirm intra-church regulations, the right of supervision)."

When one talks about "throne and altar" today and that there should be no new alliance between "throne and altar," that aspect must be taken into careful consideration. Because one must not lose sight of the fact that it was state interference in intra-church processes and its institutionalization that led to that system, to the alliance of throne and altar. The other aspect of the alliance, i.e., the "throne" being sanctioned by the "altar," the justification of existing power and ownership relations, logically followed from the institutional interlinking discussed.

Such institutional interlinking between church and state exists in the FRG today, for instance in the "Evangelical Church Bureau for the Bundeswehr," which on the one hand comes under a military bishop working on a volunteer basis but, mainly, under the Bonn Defense Ministry. In an article on the new dangerous practices in military pastoral duties, published in Hamburg's JUNGE KIRCHE (No 10, 1980), this is what was said about it: "The structures of military pastoral service make possible that the head of an office in charge of administrative tasks under the Defense Ministry can, without ecclesiastic authorization, affect and decisively direct military pastoral care." Thus it was not all that wrong to speak of an alliance between "Bonn and altar."

It has by now become a platitude but once in a while one must obviously repeat it: in the GDR the position of the church in public life is entirely different; here it does not have, as it has in bourgeois society, the function to sanction the state. Actually, the demand for freedom of religion has for the first time been fully and validly implemented in socialist society; there is no danger there of "throne and altar."

It therefore is worthwhile to define more accurately the historic content of such "key concepts" as were brought out at the Federal Synod in Leipzig.

There are analogies in the bourgeois-democratic revolutionary demand for the separation between state and church which was never redeemed in practice by the bourgeoisie having come to power in Germany. It, like others, was realized not until the antifascist-democratic transformation conditions after the liberation in 1945. This historic matter of course also must be confronted when one is talking today of the separation between church and state.

This remark, by the way, also applies with reference to ecumenical materials. That is still governed by the Oxford document of the developing ecumenical movement of 1937. This document purposefully presents the crucial criteria for clarifying the relations between church and state, especially the right of the church to rule itself on faith and doctrine.

There are two problems that play an additional role in connection with the discussion of the "key concepts" worked out at the Leipzig Federal Synod:

(1) If the church under its own responsibility wants to advance considerations that are relevant to society as a whole, it will continue to apply none but confident ~~clergy action~~ as its working tool. It will also be able to take into account, however, that in our society, based on Article 20 of our Constitution, there are sufficient possibilities for clergy and Christians to assume social responsibility.

(2) Another handle with respect to assuming responsibility for the whole lies in becoming active where developments arise in the psychological warfare against socialist society that assume a character that endangers peace.

I return, not last by those two remarks, to my initial point. The 6 March 1978 communique, particularly in view of the principle of separation between church and state, and especially in recognition of what Otto Grotewohl as long as 30 years before the Fifth CDU Congress defined to the effect that a church that remains a church and a state that remains a state can live together well, with long-range possibilities for effecting an independent church as well as for a party-minded social commitment of the Christians.

It is therefore in the interest of extending the outcome of the 6 March 1978 talks that strict attention be given to the differentiation of levels recalled here—the level on which church life can develop validly and in freedom and the other level pertaining to the exercise of the Christians' social responsibility as citizens.

5885

CSO: 2300

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BORDER TROOP DEPUTY COMMANDER ALLEGES BONN AID TO VIOLATORS

East Berlin BAUERN-ECHO in German 1 Dec 80 p 4

[Article by Maj Gen Gerhard Lorenz, deputy commander, GDR Border Troops and chief, Political Administration: "Reliable Protection of the State Borders of our Socialist Homeland")]

[Text] The motto "Our utmost for the Tenth Party Conference! Our all for the benefit of the people!" has in recent weeks and months become the leitmotiv of our people's workers, collective farmers, employees and soldiers for their actions in behalf of continuing strengthening of our republic and its military security. They pursue this knowing that it is in their own best interest.

The Class Mission

The entire evolution of our republic during the past 31 years clearly demonstrates what has become of the first socialist state of workers and farmers on German soil, its achievements in the most diverse of fields and to what extent the lives of the people and every individual have thereby changed for the better. Our collective farmers and agricultural workers have greatly contributed to this successful development.

In the continuing establishment of the developed socialist society the political and moral unity of the people is further strengthened; our country's defense worthiness and defense capabilities are increasing apace; the class mission of the members of our republic's armed forces increases in significance.

For the GDR's border troops this mission consists of reliable protection of the GDR territorial border with the FRG and West Berlin and to repel any attacks against GDR territory in a resolute manner.

Accomplishment of this mission requires during every passing hour high personal commitment, determination to fight, revolutionary alertness and military skill on the part of our soldiers, noncommissioned officers, officer candidates and officers, so as to justify the confidence placed in them by the party and the entire working population and to contribute successfully toward guaranteeing peaceful conditions for continuing socialist development.

Increasing Responsibility

Our border troops' responsibility keeps increasing in view of the open confrontation policies of the powers opposed to detente, and of the increasing brutality and danger of violations of our republic's borders by revanchist and antisocialist elements.

The situation at our state borders can be dangerously exacerbated by provocative and hostile actions against border troops and the border population; by violations of GDR territory, especially its airspace; by destruction of border markers; and by threats against the firing upon our outposts. Such attacks are not infrequently tolerated or even directly supported by official Bonn or West Berlin agencies or by their border police. All this indicates that the antidetente powers are striving for maintaining tensions and for increased numbers of incidents on our border for the purpose of eventually removing it altogether.

All these events represent flagrant violations of the Helsinki Conference resolutions and against the spirit and the letter of the treaty concerning basic relationships between GDR and FRG.

These documents clearly establish the inviolability of European state borders, specifically including the GDR-FRG boundaries. Strict observance of territorial integrity and striving for good neighborly relations are therein established as commandments.

These rules constitute the firm basis for detente; the maintenance of peace in Europe is built upon them.

Any violations of the GDR-FRG border, which simultaneously constitutes the boundary between the Warsaw Pact nations and NATO, are especially perilous for maintaining peace. Anyone interfering with this border imperils peace in Europe and raises the specter of triggering a devastating war.

Dedicated to Peace

That is the reason why reliable protection of this border constitutes an indispensable component of the battle for detente and for securing peace in Europe.

Insofar as the border troops fulfill their part of the class mission in a responsible fashion by impressing upon class enemies and reactionaries of all stripes west of the Elbe and Werra rivers the limits of their abilities, they make an important contribution toward the maintenance of peace in Europe. By doing so, they serve the interests of all European people. Our border soldiers thereby observe the rights and the duties of the working class, which rules in our republic, and of its allies. They do so under an indissoluble relationship with the workers, collective farmers and the working class of our country and thereby simultaneously ensure the continuing increase in productivity of our socialist agriculture. Our republic's armed forces, including the border troops, are part and parcel, flesh and blood of our people.

Firm Unity

More than 90 percent of border troop officers were born into either the working class or the collective farmers' class. In equal measure, the same is true of regular soldiers, reserve soldiers and our young draftees. It is therefore not surprising that the citizens of our country support and respect the border troops and accord them their love and care.

The workers, collective farmers and members of the working class gain a first-hand impression of their responsibility for the protection of our socialist achievements in many different ways. They create the necessary material and financial means for national defense with the labor of their own hands.

As to ourselves, we make every effort to use these resources economically and as effectively as possible in the interests of great military effectiveness and combat readiness, as well as on behalf of a reliably protected national border.

Active Support on the Border

In our active duty at the border with the FRG and West Berlin we are well aware of the direct help and support on the part of workers and farmers. More and more inhabitants of the border regions consider it their unequivocal right and their duty to participate in protecting the national border along with the GDR border troops. With valid suggestions and reports about changes in the border region they have frequently contributed to thwarting the intentions of enemies of our republic and to stop violations of border regulations. Thousands of volunteer helpers of the border troops have shown great personal commitment and have made notable achievements. More than 1,000 of them were honored during the period 1976-1980 with medals for exceptional support of border troops.

Close Relationship

Effective sponsorships developed between units and troop forces with over 300 industrial and agricultural enterprises and with many villager and community organizations. Among them is the cooperative crop production department Teldau (Hagenow Kreis), headed by Democratic Peasant Party of Germany member and Volkskammer delegate Hermann Kuehne.

Our border soldiers actively participate in many ways in the social life of the border regions. 395 border troop members from border companies and staffs are delegates in local peoples' representations and 1,500 comrades are working in honorary functions of social organizations in cities and communities. Many wives of noncommissioned officers, officer candidates and officers have earned the respect and appreciation of the border region population through their exemplary activities as teachers in nurseries and schools.

The close unity between civilians and the armed forces of our republic is demonstrated in a specific manner in this common endeavor of border troops and the inhabitants of the border regions. Reliable protection of our national border is the concern and joint task of all our people.

9273

CSO: 2300

FIELD MEDICAL UNIT OPERATIONS DISCUSSED

East Berlin AR ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 12, Dec 80 signed to press 30 Sep 80 pp 6-9

[Article by LtCol Horst Spickereit: "In the Woods With Scalpel"]

[Text] Officer in charge of the surgical platoon of a medical unit--that is the assignment of 1st Lt Ullrich Gebhardt, 26. A graduate of the Dresden Medical Academy, the dark blond licensed physician is serving a 3-year contract tour of duty in the Koestler Medical Battalion, after which he will once again wield his scalpel in the operating room of a kreis hospital. It is not that he has lost his familiarity with that little surgical knife; but in his military training the emphasis is on pistols and special vehicles, tactics and protection against weapons of mass annihilation. Nevertheless, he would have preferred to have been able to use his surgical instrument a while longer, particularly since no surgery is performed in his unit and there is limited opportunity for working in a military hospital. That is why Comrade Gebhardt was very pleased at the offer he received from the Soviet partner battalion to assist in its surgical procedures from time to time. Says he about these visits: "Very experienced doctors. Lots of practical surgery. I can learn a lot there." And he promised himself to show his own work area to his Soviet opposite numbers.

Soon, an opportunity presented itself for this. His commander, LtCol Koestler, informed him of a forthcoming special tactical battalion exercise involving the establishment of a large dressing station. "Twelve Soviet physicians are going to participate. Among other things, they have expressed an interest in your platoon's mobile surgical facility."

The colleagues' curiosity is understandable: this GDR-developed facility is something to be proud of. The entire operating room unit is contained in a large container, transportable in a W 50 truck. There is no need for a crane to offload the container; it can be lowered to the ground on built-in rollers, driven by electrical motors and can be set up in minimum time--a complete mini-operating room for two surgical teams. Quite an improvement over the tents used in the past. An improvement especially in the medical care of our soldiers. First Lt Gebhardt has two such containers in his platoon; today he will demonstrate their setting up under near-field conditions. Gebhardt and his men hurriedly go to work under their guests' critical observation. His men are reservists: noncommissioned officer Hartmut Grunnet, surgeon in a kreis hospital, and privates first class Reinhard Stein and Volkmar John, both of them drivers as well as medical technicians.

Moving in reverse, the two trucks approach each other and stop 3 meters apart. The swivel arms on the containers turn to one side, come to rest on the ground, lift the containers clear to permit the truck beds to be removed from under them. The heavy loads are gently lowered to the ground between their stilts. Electric and grounding cables, fresh water and drain hoses are connected; the two rigid side walls are cranked down with a hand crank. They become the floor of the adjoining rooms being set up. Light weight metal frames are used to stretch the folded rubber wall. The compartment cell has been erected, extending to a width of 6 meters. Already the equipment is being set up in the first container. The two surgeons are attaching operating lamps and tables, attach the anesthesia apparatus, display the instruments, while the medical technicians unpack dressings and linen and check the water pump and the hot water heater. "All right, now just sweep up and dust! Then we will be ready for the first casualties," says noncommissioned officer Grummt laughingly while mopping perspiration from his face. The four men change clothing. White takes the place of the gray uniforms. The Soviet officers look at their watches. By Jove! All this has taken only three-quarters of an hour! Let us take a look at this thing from the inside!

First Lt Gebhardt proudly demonstrates the layout of the functional spaces. To the right and left, the operating rooms; between them the technicians' work space; separated from the others the small sterilization facility. "A closed system. A bit cramped perhaps, but better and cleaner than a tent. Just having a solid, horizontal floor alone is a great advantage. Added to this, running hot and cold water." He picks up a few instruments packed in foil. "They can be immediately sterilized. Everything is in place right here to care quickly and well for casualties in the immediate vicinity of the battlefield." To demonstrate this, the technicians bring in a simulated casualty on a litter. Carefully he is placed on the operating table, covered with white sheets, and the anesthesia apparatus is brought into position. Procedures involving the large body cavities and the chest can primarily be handled here. The guests want to know how many operations can be performed. "The two containers can each accommodate four surgical teams of four persons each. Per day of action, that would amount to 48-64 operations," estimates the first lieutenant.

The friends are full of admiration. "My colleague has shown us an excellent thing," says Major Nicolai Chibara. Comrade Gebhardt had stood by his side several times during surgery in the partner unit. The Soviet specialist continues: "This facility fulfills all the requirements of surgery in the field. It has unlimited possibilities. Transportable. Easy to set up. And there are a few practical things which will come in handy in our Soviet battalion too." He grins at First Lt Gebhardt: "Perhaps you will notice them the next time you operate with us."

9273

CSO: 2300

GYORI CALLS FOR NEW APPROACH TO PROPAGANDA WORK

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 12, Dec 80 pp 18-28

[Article by Imre Gyori, Ed. Dept of Agit/Prop of the CC: "Propaganda Work-Under New Conditions"]

[Text] It is known that the CC designated for a longer period in October 1976 the objectives and practical tasks in the improvement of party education. The goal of this important resolution was to improve the party membership's ideological and political consciousness and thus the individual Communists' willingness and ability for action as well as our party's work in propaganda and agitation among the masses.

In evaluating the experiences, the congress determined that our propaganda work is going well; it reaffirmed the tasks designated 4 years ago. The basis for ideological education continues to be the CC resolution mentioned above. However, the familiar changes in the conditions of our social and economic development—and the tasks we are facing in the coming years—make it necessary to change certain views and rearrange some priorities even in party education.

A regular ideological-political propaganda, which encourages action, is an indispensable requisite for solving the complex and new social, economic, political and cultural problems that the party and the country face. This is why a regular and close contact and harmony between politics and party education is a central question for us at this time.

In examining the relationship between politics and party education, it is apparent that propaganda, keeping in pace with the development of society and science, constantly forms the Marxist-Leninist views and political attitude of the Communists and their comrades. The propaganda is related to the present primarily through a concentration on questions which stand in the foreground of politics, and through a preparation and mobilization for the correct political and public attitude. In its characteristic role, propaganda itself unable to carry out the tasks of connecting agitation and information with every-day politics.

Our attention must now be focused on the effectiveness of party education and propaganda. We are thinking here of improving the party members' ideological and political readiness in a way that would result in more and more independent thinking, in a thorough analysis of the situation for the purpose of action, and in an organization of the every-day work that would help people in their socialist education. In other words, we need a propaganda which even in new situations

helps the communists to draw proper conclusions from the given facts; so that they would be able, alongside with our party's policies, to take a stand, and encourage others for action, in all possible situations.

The recognition that Marxism-Leninism is not a science of philosophy but the constantly expanding ideological foundation for the preparation and implementation of political decisions, must be implemented even more in party education. Familiarity with the theory does not simply make it possible to learn about and understand the world, but also encourages the change of reality; the goal in teaching Marxism-Leninism is not only to increase knowledge, but also to use this knowledge for the making of man who lives, thinks and acts in a Marxist way.

Since 1976, there was more effort made in propaganda activities toward directing attention to the main questions of social progress, i.e., to the theoretical questions of building a socialist society, to our present and future economy, to the basic areas of social and state life, to ideological, cultural and moral topics, to our party's historical experiences and its present role in leadership, and to the main processes of world politics and the international Communist and worker movement. There have been changes in the system and subject areas of the education, and the modernization of the material has also begun. A better contact with life and the pace of social progress is served in cadre education by a change of tasks and subject areas, and in mass education by central courses concentrating on the important political questions and by mege courses adjusting to local circumstances.

All of this shows that the past years' efforts, experiences and results give us a solid foundation. Be we must also see that our party education still falls short of preparing for a higher-level political activity; both a higher demand for propaganda and the inadequacy of education play a role in this. This is why it is necessary (as the 12th congress pointed out) for the propaganda activity to take part in carrying out the great economic and cultural tasks we will be facing in the years to come, and to keep in pace with the increasing demand.

We must in our socialist education recognize more and more what was also emphasized by the congress, namely, that, in order to have a critical overview of our ideological activity and to assess (and continue with the socialist unfolding of) public opinion, we must examine social consciousness in its historical development. Reality, and, above all, our life that is becoming more and more socialist, are the main factors in forming our people's political and ideological development. Factors that have additional effects on public opinion (including party propaganda) also played a role in establishing Marxism-Leninism in our society. It was in the every-day practice where our party's policies created the opportunity for the entire nation to identify with socialist goals. Through a correct political policy and practice, Marxism-Leninism has a mass effect, creating responsible public opinion and attitudes of people, including those who do not march under the banner of Marxism but are affected by it.

We know at the same time that the great international ideological and political struggle between the socialist and capitalist systems also affects the processes of conscience that are taking place in our society. This, and the more complex and more difficult domestic tasks are the reasons for the undecidedness in certain smaller groups of our society.

The successful implementation of advanced socialism is a joint social undertaking and activity in the broadest sense and unthinkable without a high level of human consciousness and a positive mass effect of our ideologies. We must thus examine now what party propaganda can do about it with its own means and in the spirit of the 12th congress.

Many of the external and internal conditions of building socialism have changed since the 1976 CC resolution. These changes affect Marxist propaganda as well.

We are able to keep in pace with the changes because our ideology and theory are a dependable basis of principles and methods for a right orientation in the world's processes. But life and reality are always more colorful and richer than our forecast which was based on general theories originating from earlier experiences.

Education, just like politics and science, is always faced with reality and life. This is why we must always adjust our theories to the concrete situation, without making dogmas out of them--even those theories that are 10 or 15 years old. This does not mean, of course, that we should make everything relative or that we should negate well-founded knowledge or that we should become nihilists. Even a theory can give an answer to the new situations and problems only within its own [sphere of] development. Thus the fact that we openly and honestly declare that we still do not have theoretical answers for certain questions will not in itself undermine party education. For experience shows that we are able to give an answer to the main questions that arise from a new situation. This is the way in which we were able to work out a program for the elimination of our economic difficulties and for the improvement of the socialist way of life.

It is a key question of the effect of our propaganda, that it should keep in pace with changes at home and abroad, should be more receptive toward new questions, and should come closer to today's concrete social reality. Progress in this respect, too, requires more openness and more sensitivity toward the problems. Propaganda must simultaneously concentrate on two tasks: it must preserve and strengthen in party members and their comrades the bases and timeless truths of Marxist-Leninist theories, ideologies and views and, at the same time, it must be ready for the changes and must supplement the propaganda arsenal with new and well-founded answers.

The two tasks mutually depend on each other. The systematic and thorough study of Marxism-Leninism helps us learn the essential processes and relationships of reality's new phenomena; and the uncovering and Marxist analysis of the new phenomena enriches our theory, makes our views more subtle, and develops our analytic and dialectic way of thinking. This is why it is important to strengthen the relationship between party education and the social sciences, so that we can use scientific results faster and can have a better understanding of reality's facts, processes, relationships and contradictions. Education must go beyond the simple teaching of political goals and the justifying theoretical arguments and experiences, and must include practical relationships.

The coupling of theory and practice, and general principles and experiential phenomena must be implemented in the process of political education with the participation of students. The framework of Marxist-Leninist education itself is a kind of opportunity and form for creative thinking; through it, more and more people can share the new relationships and new truths.

We will be able to recognize (and help others to understand) the processes, laws and main direction of the changes if the party education will pay more attention to the improvement of Communists' dialectical and historical views.

Thus the improvement of party education, and an increase in its effect on attitude, means that we must increasingly implement the principle of history, both in general and concrete terms. This is especially significant among younger party members who did not experience the turbulent early period of our socialist development and who have no personal political experience in the cold war; their lack of personal historical experience must be made up by ideological education. Historical views and historical thinking are especially important in certain areas of socialist indoctrination such as socialist patriotism and internationalism.

In answering the real questions of real life, it is most imperative to avoid simplifications which distort the truth because they contain only certain elements of the truth but not the whole truth. Party education must not camouflage the contradictions but must try to eliminate them by presenting them realistically. It must be considered a natural and self-evident situation that the socialist social structure eliminates only the antagonistic contradictions and that progress is extremely complex and full of struggle, eliminating existing contradictions and creating new ones simultaneously. Party education must not, therefore, hide the difficulties but must prove that socialism helps in eliminating the contradictions if the policies that are based on Marxism-Leninism can come up with a program which is right, realistic and feasible.

Our party education must get rid of the "academic spirit" (used here in a pejorative sense) which does not tolerate differences of opinion. Marxist-Leninist education takes place under complex and constantly changing circumstances of our lives. Social status, schooling, social and other similar factors also affect exchanges of views in education which, consequently, cannot be free of the manifestations of differences of interests and opinions. All of this must not be a detrimental factor; on the contrary, it can be encouraging and beneficial, and it might significantly contribute in most cases to serious and analytical work and to useful and progressive debates. Identical ideological views and an agreement on the main political questions do not exclude the existency of various views on the possible alternatives and best solutions for building socialism. The emergence of these differences of opinion can be a great help in identifying with the optimal solutions, even in matters of detail. However, this makes it necessary for the participants of party education to understand and to adopt the attitude which has been present for a long time in our party's policies and methods, namely, the attitude of facing divergent opinions with solid principles coupled with tolerance and clearheadedness.

This is necessary, so much the more as we are living at a time when social debates are more frequent. Most of these debates are progressive and constructive, but it is no use negating the fact that they are sometimes accompanied by certain attitudes e.g., some people's efforts to adapt, without much thought, ideas and ideologies that are foreign to socialism, or the substitution of constructive criticism by pure emotions which lack in weighing and analyzing facts and processes. These criticisms sometimes stray into the maze of demagogy and thus it is imperative to counter them with clear-headed Marxist-Leninist arguments. We must pay special attention to fact inadequate arguments and superficial analyses with sound arguments and analyses, and should avoid the paths offered by certain critical methods that are unacceptable to us.

Thus the higher requirements of party education primarily involve the contents, but they also necessitate changes in the methods, supervision and organization, of education. The increase in the level of political-ideological and general education makes it possible for more people to independently (and in addition to the courses) study the teachings and applications of Marxism-Leninism.

In accordance with these requirements, the reshaping of the course system, and the preparation of new curricula, of mass propaganda, is based on our solid principles and the values in our teaching. We are revising the texts of the courses on Marxism-Leninism in the party schools, evening colleges, and state universities and colleges. We are paying more attention in this process to the questions of our age and socialist progress, and are increasingly implementing the principle of history. We are striving to make the textbooks more helpful in ideological-political education and in developing a conviction.

Party education can meet the requirements of social progress only if Marxism-Leninism's propagandists are familiar not only with the material of the courses they teach but also with current events (and the factors that elicit them) and with the problems of their environment and students, and if they are open and ready for exchanging views. To achieve this, they must study and be continually informed and must actively participate in every-day politics; for this, they deserve more attention and support from party committees and party organizations.

It is a basic task of party education in the coming years to help implement the resolutions of the 12th congress. The educational program is determined by the evaluations and tasks as defined in the documents of the congress.

We must also use party education to make it clear that there is a close connection between our long-term goals and the building of socialism, and our present tasks. Losing sight of the perspectives and ideas, and earthbound pragmatism, are foreign to our views: in fact, they are as detrimental to our cause as are the disregard for reality and daydreaming. For the strengthening of our society's socialist character is a process which always starts from the given concrete situation and leads to the achievement of perspective socialist goals.

The strengthening of our society's socialist character presupposes and demands a coordination of progress in the main areas of social conditions. This cannot mean a kind of balance between the individual areas' pace of progress; in fact, a special treatment of one or another area should not be ruled out in certain periods. Today the coordination of progress requires a better understanding of the relationships between the areas of social conditions and a better implementation of the interactions in our work. These relationships and interactions are very extensive in society's life: they are often apparent and often still hidden, but they are present and have a (perhaps unbeneficial) effect even if we do not realize it.

There has been more and more talk lately about the role of consciousness and culture, or more broadly, of human factors. We must clearly see that the increasing role of human factors is a result and consequence of the progress in our political conditions, and that we did not invent them for the substitution of something. The demand for culture, for example, was significantly increased by sophisticated

production equipment. The significance of consciousness also increased because there have been many more possibilities for independent decisions. The communal views, which really exist and which can be heard every day, are based on the conditions of our production, and their increasing role originates from the fact that the creation of a highly developed socialist society has become a joint national effort.

On the one hand, the role of the human factors is increased by social progress and, on the other hand, people's higher education and increased consciousness affects social progress itself more and more. In the economy, the recognition of the needs and possibilities, initiative and responsibility, and know-how and creativity are the same way requisites and incentives for carrying out the tasks as the material resources are. The situation is similar in the area of political conditions and institutions. The implementation and unfolding of socialist democracy depends, to a large extent, even today, on how we can make a use of it with know-how and public responsibility. Socialist national unity becomes stronger in proportion to the extent to which the effects of consciousness supplement the political binding elements and to the number of people we can win over to the cause of socialism.

The coordinated development of social conditions does not exclude--indeed, demands--a concentration of forces on an important area. Such an area today is the economy. Production and economy is, at all times, a basic factor in socialism, for this is where the resources are created which help us realize our efforts regarding the living standard, socio-politics and culture. The more stringent requirements (and the more difficult conditions) of economic development make it necessary for us to pay even more attention than usual to the tasks that emerge in this area.

Concentrating on the economy does not mean, however, that the development of the other areas will slow down; in fact, it is precisely the requirements of economic development that urge us for the elimination of the existing lags and the increase of the pace of development in several areas. The recognition of this is very important even from the political aspect. This is why we must, for example, pay more attention to the economic elements of federative politics, to uncover, express, and coordinate the real interests and interest differences and to the implementation of interests that are most important from the viewpoint of the entire society's development. In accordance with the increasing role of the intelligentsia, we must do more for its ideological-political and professional development and the unfolding of its professional and public activity. The development of democracy at the workplace must also contribute to the encouragement of creative initiative. Political and professional training and the improvement of socialist morality may become incentives for more responsible, more disciplined and more efficient work. A progress in the conditions of politics and consciousness, which keeps an eye more closely on economic needs, will result in more coordination between society's fundamental spheres.

The understanding of the economy's requirements is important not only because their more extensive social relationships but also because their own internal development. It is necessary in this regard to emphasize two characteristics of economic development.

Our economic tasks may be understood both in the light of the results we have achieved so far and in the light of today's realities and perspectives. The necessities and possibilities of national economic development, and the role and

effects of international economic relations (both their permanent tendencies and those dictated by the present situation) can be recognized only in this connection. It is very important to strengthen a view which reckons with the fact that we cannot become isolated from economic reality and that we must go forward under the conditions which are created by world economy or by our own work.

Party propaganda should also help in making clearer to the party membership and the public the character, direction and essence of our economic development. The level of development and development (i.e., both the achieved level and the process itself) have been measured for a long time almost exclusively by the pace of increase and other quantitative indexes. This habit became so strong that now when the pace of increase is slower, some people talk about a slower pace of development. The reality is that we are taking more decisive steps toward quality improvement and a faster intensive economy while we necessarily slow down quantitative growth. True, this improvement of quality is less apparent but it is just as important a criterion of development as the quantitative indexes are. Today's concrete goals of economic policy (e.g., the improvement of economic balance, the modernization of production and product structure, the increase of economic efficiency etc.) include not only the development that is possible but also the results already achieved. Both the meeting of quality requirements and the realization of realistic quantitative goals are a basis and source of our social development and the improvement of living standards.

Party education should show convincingly how the series of practical measures serves the realization of our economic-political principles and socialist goals in the given concrete situation. (E.g., the essence of planning is the most sensible and efficient use for society of the existing resources.) This is better served today by a flexible adaptation than by a stricter planning and more rigid management. Another example: it is well known that family and private forces are included in the services, and some people consider this as a step backwards in relation to the socialist conditions already achieved. But it is not. Not only because most services will continue to be supplied by the socialist sector but also because the social ownership of the means of production is not eroding, the private forces are closely connected to the socialist sector, and we consider, even in this area, incomes that are proportionate to the work done, desirable. The reason why we took this step is precisely to improve the services and to better supply the population, the working people. This is, indeed, a common goal which is in harmony with our policy on living standards. Thus, in connection with the methods and the new characteristics of economic management, we must strive to make it more apparent what helps us better realize our economic-political goals and what serves better the interests of our society.

The congress paid close attention to social and political circumstances and to the functioning of our political system. It emphasized their role in the solution of tasks that are ahead of us.

A methodical and conscious development of socialist democracy according to existing social needs is one of the key questions of our socialist development. This effort, which our party has been exerting for some time and which is more and more manifest in our social life, has been supported by the 12th congress.

The questions of democracy are becoming more numerous in all forms and at all levels of party education. Recognizing the ever richer and deeper social practice, we do not limit today the problems of democracy to the definition of democracy and dictatorship, to explain democratic centralism, and to related questions. We consider it important in indoctrination to regularly deal with the entire range of areas and forms of democracy that is possible in socialism, from social democracy to the democracy of the workplace, from the mechanism of implementing interests to the problems of value orientation, from the questions of the forums to public culture, emphasizing the function of these in social efficiency.

Efficiency is not only an economic but also a general socialist social requirement. One of the tasks of propaganda is to make this clear. It is natural, then that the main indicator of democracy's development in socialism is the extent of its social effect, and not the number of its forums and the formal abundance of its institutions and methods, although the forms are not negligible either. By its nature, socialist democracy is a higher-level democracy in comparison with all of its historical forms, and contains the possibility of real activity and social control. This is corroborated more and more by every-day experiences. Still, we must often face views which demand from socialist democracy the formal characteristics of the bourgeois democracy. Our propaganda should help make it understood that the workers can be "creators for public benefits" in all facets of life (from the economy to culture) through political and public activity, even if today's conditions do not yet permit everyone to do the same creative activity. The citizens are not condemned to solitude and isolation; they can do organized and purposeful work within the framework of democracy's institutional system, surrounded by their fellow men.

Socialist democracy's entire range is exceptionally rich. Unlike bourgeois democracy, it includes the economic and cultural life as well, demanding conscious and regular activity from every worker, and a little more from communists. A permanent and increasing requirement for this is consciousness and culture and, within that, first of all, political and public culture. Party education is primarily responsible for dealing with questions of democracy, while it also teaches democratic thinking and behavior.

With reference to the essential relationships, we must mention the question of priority for the basic requirement, the class society, on the basis of Marxist social views that we need to learn about and form private and group interests in such a way that they can be coordinated with social interests. The individual workers and communities reach the level of historical action when their activity is based on this knowledge. The actual practice of democracy will teach us how to "think in terms of the people and the nation". It is the task of party propaganda to spread the notion that this is the goal and function of democracy, in the framework of which the leaders and followers are educated and become tuned to the tasks that are defined and accepted by the party. In the case of an efficient democracy, the workers take part in dealing with matters, solving problems, and matching different interests. This is the course through which the most divergent social, economic, cultural, moral and political values are evaluated, separated and increased.

The history of our country and the last quarter-century of our social development vividly illustrate how large forces can unite and mobilize people to improve its lot and to serve progress if it is freed from irreconcilable class antagonism that fragments society, from the duality of exploiters and exploited, and from the sources of the many struggles and fights that cause so much hatred, curse, misery and conflict which consume so much of the nation's valuable creative energy. In the wake of fundamental changes, our society today is a great creative community of the working class, the cooperative peasantry, and the intelligentsia, i.e., of friendly and fraternal classes and strata.

Progress has conflicts, of course. But our socialist society's system of political institutions makes it possible to eliminate the tensions and contradictions; on the basis of the social interest's priority, it can bring to surface, order and implement the various interests better and better. The time we have been practicing democracy is historically short. We are still gaining experiences and values. We ourselves form and mold our democracy; no one from the outside should intervene. There is no one for whose sake we make any concessions to the so-called pluralist views which are so fashionable in the West, if this means that the most important thing is the competition between parties and if it means that the political battles that already have been fought and finished and thus are obsolete, would be artificially revived under our present circumstances. It is our conviction that our present socialist reality--and the people's interest--does not need this. We are concentrating on the real demands of social development, on the tasks we are facing, and on the work to be done. We are not going to let anyone question our historic achievements and those lasting results (among them the most significant: socialist national unity) which our people achieved through so much struggle and so many difficulties. We are going to keep going forward by making use of our achievements, by conscientious, disciplined and more efficient work and by further improving our democracy.

"The socialist system is not a permanently completed building or a carved statue", said comrade János Kádár in his latest speech to the Parliament. Socialism is a constantly renewed aspect of our activity; it depends on us and on our work as to what it actually is and how it can be. Propaganda and Party education should deal with questions of democracy (and with the significance of the activity that democracy includes) in the light of this thought.

Dealing with international questions is one of the most important areas of indoctrination and party education. This not only means the understanding and explanation of the world situation and foreign politics but also the strengthening of the confidence and conviction in the class viewpoint which show socialism's effects on history, on events and in the correct understanding of internationalism, and the support for the MSZMP's international policies. Party propaganda is doing its work well in this respect. It deals with international topics in a way that it can contribute actively to party activity and to the propagation and realization of our policies. It plays a large role in that the party membership (and the broadest Hungarian public opinion as well) assesses the world situation realistically, agrees with the evaluations of the various party resolutions, and identifies with the party's international policies and with the struggle for progress and peace.

The international topics in party education also clearly reflect the essential efforts of education: we are strengthening the Marxist-Leninist evaluation of the main tendencies of international progress; we are proving the decisive role of the socialist world system and the Soviet Union; we are emphasizing, how important the unity of the international Communist movement and workers' movement is; we are showing the characteristic attributes of its progress. We are showing the place of the of the developing countries in world politics, and point out the social and economic reasons for their differentiated development and orientation. We are unmasking the new changes in imperialism's strategy and the tactics of the Chinese leaders and their antisocialistic and anti-peace policies of their allies. In relation to all of this, we show the significance of the policy of detente in building socialism and in preserving world peace, and we show its relation to the possibility and tasks of social progress.

Our textbooks generally adequately express what we want to say. We know at the same time that there are many new phenomena in the world, the news of which reach us in a matter of hours. Under the surface of the phenomena and events, a mutual characteristic comes to light, namely, that the factors of tension and mitigation are simultaneously present in the international situation. The revolutionary forces continue their struggle in a generally more complex environment.

But there is a basis even for the explanation of the various events, among them the new phenomena: we have a solid and principled standpoint from which we can approach the processes in terms of Marxism-Leninism. We must be open at the same time to every important fact and fresh idea. For a correct orientation and information, which is based on the class viewpoint, cannot mean, not even in this area, the constant repetition of our well-known theories because party education can never be isolated from practice since its purpose is precisely to prepare us for it. This the best answer for the imperialist propaganda which, according to its nature and efforts, tries to overemphasize the existing difficulties and to distort reality by taking the actually and necessarily existing national characteristics out of context, and sometimes even distorts them.

Party education and party propaganda is on the right path if it educates its students to learn the contradictory nature of international reality; if it helps to find its parts and causes and if it guards against drawing extensive and hasty conclusions from individual phenomena.

Thus the international situation makes it necessary for us to strengthen our dialectic thinking. Here too, we must keep an eye on the creative character of Marxist-Leninist theories. This presents two tasks. On the one hand, we should not deal dogmatically and separately with individual principles, concepts and theoretical conclusions. On the other hand, we cannot, under the pretext of accepting new views which have not yet been corroborated and justified by practice, let fade the positive aspects and general experiences which have been accumulated through the movements's historical development. The solution today, is like it always has been in the movement's history: the implementation of the class viewpoint, the interests of the working class and the requirements of social progress, and the application of dialectic methods.

We must point out in our educational work that we can be successful on the international battlefield if everyone does his job at home and if our work at home, our socialist progress and social reality give support for our views and efforts in questions of foreign politics.

In reviewing the present situation and tasks of ideological-political education, we can corroborate the party's experience that the party membership's increasing political knowledge and better ideological preparation can improve the representation of policies. It helps the party to confidently fulfill its historic mission, to serve the working people and to lead and direct the building of socialist society even under more complex foreign and domestic circumstances. It is thus a long-term task which the CC's October 1976 resolution gave to party education: "It should unfold the education effect of our ideals, and should explain and propagate the revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism so that they will result in a conviction which determines both thinking and action."

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KURON INTERVIEWED ON POSSIBILITY OF SOVIET INTERVENTION

Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 8 Dec 80 p 7

[Report on interview with Jacek Kuron, leader of the Polish KSS-KOR (Committee for Social Self-Defense-Committee for the Defense of the Workers) by Frits Schalling]

[Text] You could call him the spiritual father of Solidarity: Jacek Kuron, the 46-year-old social worker from Warsaw, who in 1964 wrote an open letter to the Polish communist party in which he called for a Marxist analysis of the labor force in Poland. After that letter, Kuron was expelled from the party and since that time he has been an untiring activist for justice and integrity in Polish society.

Branded an "antisocialist" by the authorities and jailed several times for shorter or longer terms, Kuron has never considered himself an opponent of socialism. In 1976 other Polish intellectuals grouped around him, a temperamental and committed thinker, and together established the KOR (the Committee for the Defense of the Workers), which took up the cause of the workers who were arrested or fired during the strikes and unrest in Radom. Since then Polish authorities have constantly bothered the KOR members and accused the organization of wanting to overthrow the government. Kuron and his group, on the other hand, have constantly maintained that the KOR is a social group and not a political one.

In August, during the strikes at Gdansk, Kuron and the other members of the KOR--which in the mean time had changed its name to KSS-KOR: Committee for Social Self-Defense--were arrested, because the Polish authorities suspected KOR of having incited the workers in Gdansk to their strikes. That however was not the case: but KOR members had made sure that the outside world was informed of what was going on in Gdansk in August and continuously offered the strikers in the Lenin Shipyards advice. And that advice was largely based on what Kuron had already proposed a few years before: that is, the establishment of independent labor unions.

Since the KOR members were released--one of the workers' first conditions for ending the strikes in August--Kuron has remained for the most part in Gdansk, where he functions as one of Walesa's most prominent advisors. Up to a short time ago, Kuron was the target of unceasing attacks by the authorities, who tried in every conceivable way to turn his words around and show him in a bad light.

This seems to have declined in the past weeks: in an article in TRYBUNA LUDU of 11 November, Kuron was not mentioned by name, although quotes of him were used to support the contention that KOR is out for the power in Solidarity. Therefore it seems that Kuron is at least becoming "presentable" among the political elite in Poland. But that, too, seems to be the last thing he is interested in, for Jacek Kuron is an eternal competitor.

If everyone in Poland and in a large part of the world were holding their breath last week, then Jacek Kuron was definitely not. And yesterday evening, when a Polish friend of Kuron called up from Paris and said that according to American sources there was an 80-percent chance that Russia would invade on the night of Sunday and Monday, he did not seem to be much impressed by that. "We shall see," he said, "and if it proves not to be true, as I expect, for I do not believe in it, then that will once again be nothing more than empty words."

On the communique from the seven Warsaw Pact countries which was published last Friday in Moscow after the summit conference about the situation in Poland, Kuron said that that is a declaration in which the Warsaw Pact wants to assure the West as to its motives. That means: no intervention. He feels that the dangerous element in that is that the Polish authorities have made certain promises there which they will perhaps not be able to fulfill.

"If they have been required to promise that Poland remain in the Russian sphere of influence, then that is ok. We agree to that. But if they have obligated themselves to reverse what was agreed upon in August, then that is dangerous. In practice that would come down to Solidarity's breaking its ties with what the authorities call 'antisocialist elements.' And that means breaking off contact with people who have stood up for democratic changes in the country for quite some time and who play a very important role in Solidarity and who are accepted by society. Neither Solidarity nor society will accept the breaking of those ties. If the authorities have entered into an obligation like that, then they will never be able to fulfill it."

Monopoly

Kuron sees the Moscow meeting as evidence favoring his belief that the Polish drama cannot have anything but a "happy ending:" "The Soviet Union knows that a war would break out here if they were to make an attack. Moscow does not want that, and neither does Poland itself, so that is a common interest.

"Only, the bounds must not be exceeded: the leading role of the party means that a monopoly position exists for the authorities in the army, politics, the foreign policy orientation and in the central government. Which comes down to the fact that the authorities are the equal partners of the independently organized society. As

authorities, then, they should be able to make good on the compromises which have been achieved by negotiation. But I am persuaded that the Soviet Union will not intervene militarily in events in Poland."

Among many representatives of Solidarity and with Kuron in particular, a total indifference can be described with respect to what takes place within the party: the Seventh PZPR Congress of last week, the election of Gen Moczar to the Politbureau, it leaves them all cold because according to them it has no influence on the events in Poland.

Kuron: I am totally uninterested in what happens in the party. Changes in Poland do not proceed from the policies of the party, but from what society forces out of the authorities.

I have always said that and the events of this year have put me in the right. No matter who stands at the head of the party, he will have to take into account the forces of the organized society. On its part, organized society must take into account the fact that the authorities here are being watched over by Soviet tanks. Therefore organized society can never overthrow the authorities, it cannot exceed the bounds within which the authorities feel themselves constrained, for then a violent counteroffensive would follow.

Balance

"The authorities must now seek to find a position of equality with organized society, a balance that is based on negotiation and compromises. The problem of the moment is the finding of the institutionalized form for those negotiations and compromises. At the moment we are involved in that along with them."

[Question] What do you think about the position of the West and the manner in which the Western media are handling the crisis in Poland?

[Answer] I am afraid of the West's position. What the press in the West is writing comes down to the idea that we are threatened with intervention and that that is the result of our irresponsibility and improvidence. That is shameful and insulting because the workers in Poland are doing what they must do, they simply cannot do anything else, and they are doing it in a very provident manner, despite all the provocations and irresponsible action of the authorities.

What is happening in the Western press is only an invitation to the Russians to intervene. Intervention is put forward as something unavoidable, as a natural law. And the atmosphere which is being called up by the media in the West is that it is our fault. And that is insulting.

[Question] What do you think of other forms of intervention by which the Soviet Union could bring the events in Poland under its control, such as blockading the harbors, for instance, or stopping the deliveries of oil and gas?

[Answer] That would cause a situation in which Poland would be forced into open opposition, and then the Russians would really have to intervene. And that is precisely what they wish to avoid."

PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. p 7 Polish KOR leader, Jacek Kuron: I Am Convinced That Russia Will Not Invade.

ESCALATION OF POLISH CRISIS, DANISH ASSISTANCE NOTED

LD151307 Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 10 Dec 80 Part 1 p 1

["CB" and "LK" report: "Denmark Prepared for Polish Refugees"]

[Text] The government is preparing itself for the consequences of a further escalation of the Polish crisis and a possible Soviet occupation.

After briefing the Folketing Foreign Affairs Committee yesterday Foreign Minister Kjeld Olesen said that the government "has looked into what Danish aid could be necessary in any given situation." Kjeld Olesen said that it was especially a possible refugee problem he was thinking about. Kjeld Olesen did not want to go into detail about the government's plans but said that it was, of course, following the situation very closely.

A NATO fleet exercise in the Baltic this week has no connection with developments in Poland he stressed.

Prime Minister Anker Joergensen said after a government meeting yesterday that "it looks as if the situation in Poland has grown tenser, but we still hope that there will not be any interference from outside."

The Danish Government has also granted help in the form of foodstuffs to Poland on the usual export credit terms after a request from Poland. An EEC ministerial meeting in December will also discuss food aid.

The Defense High Command announced yesterday that it is following the situation in Poland closely, but does not recommend that steps to heighten combat readiness be taken as long as reports on Soviet troop movements in Poland are not confirmed, the announcement said.

CSO: 3106

RESPONSE OF ART TO ASPIRATIONS OF MASSES

Bucharest EPA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 24, 20 Dec 80 pp 31-34

[Article by Dumitru Matei: "Art and the Aspirations of the Masses"]

[Text] The relationship of art to the life, experience, thoughts and ideals of the masses, to society's problems, and to the structures of perception in keeping with the spirit of the times is now one of the urgent subjects of philosophical reflection upon the literary-artistic output, profoundly marked by extensive ideological confrontations. While within the limits of the traditional aesthetic consciousness the said relationship was largely treated in terms of the psychology of perception or in strictly formal terms, actually the situation has considerably changed today in that the ideological aspect of the relationship has been primarily emphasized. The fact is reflected in the acutely felt need to find a solution for the individual and to determine, theoretically and practically, his supreme status and condition under the conditions of contemporary society. But that is the subject of the present great ideological confrontations and the discussions in the last few decades that have produced contradictory solutions concerning the situation and destiny of the individual in the contemporary systems of values.

Like the other fields of intellectual activity, the worldwide artistic movement is deeply involved in this confrontation, first because meditation on the individual has never been lacking in the theory as well as the practice of the artistic trends and schools. Any consideration, however cursory, of the artistic experience in the period between the wars, for example, strikingly reveals the fact that most of the artistic schools took a critical and sometimes polemic view of the life and state of the human system of values in the bourgeois world.

In the configuration of social activity and in the present-day intellectual climate, art has multiplied its fields of experience and ties with the masses to an unprecedented extent. Of course this has also brought about the reverse reaction, namely the emphasis placed by some theorists of art, from the standpoint of philosophical and aesthetic idealism, upon the so-called "fixed and immutable structures" of the intellect and of aesthetic perception, that is actually upon indifference to politics and noncommitment, for the very purpose of dissimulating and disturbing art's relations with the interests and social aspirations of the masses. In this connection Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out the fact that "In the world of today as always throughout history there is an acute ideological confrontation between the revolutionary, progressive forces and the exploiting classes and reactionary circles

concerning a number of basic problems of social development and organization, the rights and freedoms of the masses, the human condition, philosophical thought and the intellectual output."^a

Art in Historical Perspective

A prejudice of arbitrarily aestheticistic origin is still circulating to the effect that the artists's presence alongside the popular masses in their struggle for freedom and social justice and for a better and more just world would necessarily and immediately result in sacrifice of artistry in favor of the extra-artistic factors, neglect of the distinctive nature of the artistic creative act in favor of the political ideal on the agenda etc. It must be said that this prejudice has had and can have some justification in fact, but only if the artist falls into the reverse, sociologizing prejudice to the effect that the necessity of including and "reflecting" the social does not require special studies of its particular form and language and consequently that the "demands of commitment" involve sacrifice, without risk, of the individual way of thinking and relating to the world. In calling them prejudices I have called both these attitudes false. In faulting them, we must first invoke the real dialectics of the historical factors and the fact that the artists's relation to reality is not always emphasized to the same extent and in the same way. The history of artistic experience has known periods of relative social and intellectual equilibrium and of relative stability of the social structures and systems of values, and periods wherein the theory of art was more strikingly committed to formal studies and to examination and reexamination of the foundations and particular languages of art. The whole artistic movement from impressionism to analytical and synthetic cubism, to take an example from the fine arts, can be confined to such a period. The period of poetic symbolism or Parnassianism was also the period of such an emphasis.

Modification of the intensity and nature of the emphasis and orientation of the output preferably toward the troubled areas of the social are indicative of another center of motivating forces. Futurism, dadaism and surrealism can be listed among the most virulent artistic movements, and they were formed in reaction to the deterioration of the capitalist world's system of values. In connection with such a historical dialectic of the emphases, Eugen Lovinescu said in reference to the national implications of World War I that "The moment when the fate of our people, of all Europe and perhaps of human civilization is being weighed in the balance is not the time for any useless beauty. The national soul is struggling in the toils of life and death problems. All energies must be used for the immediate benefit of the nation. It is in our tradition as writers to play a large part in great patriotic movements and in actions that have strengthened our modern state."

In fact, from their origins to the present time Romanian literature and art have openly assumed the role of promoting and expressing consciousness of social justice and of national unity and independence. A Samuil Micu, Gheorghe Sincai or Ion Budai-Deleacu implanted and fostered consciousness of the Romanian people's unity and Latin origin, their national dignity and pride, and the idea of their right to independence. The feeling of national pride was enhanced, in Ion Budai-Deleacu's verses for example, by the desire to fight for freedom. All the Pasoptist writers rallied their spiritual energies around the ideal of freedom. Alecsandri wrote "Our Soldiers" out of a great and true patriotic spirit. Grigorescu painted his canvases and later Cosbuc wrote his deathless poems in "Songs of Courage" with an inspiring feeling of participation in the people's struggle for independence. At these

^aNicolae Ceausescu, "Speech at the Meeting of Chief Party and State Activists. 3 August 1978," Political Publishing House, p. 44.

critical points in Romanian history of the last century (1848, 1859 and 1877) the authors and artists added their message to the social dimension, sensitizing the community consciousness and bringing out its latent aspirations and aims. All critical points in Romania's social and national history were sustained by art. But it can also be said that in a sense they were created by art because literature and art formed and strengthened the consciousness of them.

Art and the masses' social and national aspirations are forces for solidarity in the Romanian aesthetic consciousness. We find this idea, which became permanent, firmly expressed by Mihail Kogalniceanu: "As expressions of the intellect, literature and art have no hopes of survival except where they originate in the very core of the peoples... If we are to have a national literature and art they must be related to society, its customs and, in a word, to our history." The great act of unification of 1 December 1918 as well as the revolution in August 1944 cannot be dissociated from the efforts of centuries of Romanian literature and art to create the consciousness of Romanian historical and national identity. In the Romanian intellectuality the citizen-artist never had meteoric or symbolic apparitions. The good Romanian artists and writers were never apart from the great social and national movements and never embraced the "ivory tower" ideology. The dramatic moments of 1907 and 1933 can also be invoked to this effect. Romanian literature and art can be likened to a great moving fire fed by love of country and a feeling of worth.

There is no critical point in Romania's national and social history that does not give Romanian artists a subject for creative work and thought. The great revolutionary changes marking Romania's history in the last three decades have restored to the artistic consciousness one of its older traditions, the militant tradition, on higher levels of comprehension. Consistent in spirit with the RCP's revolutionary humanism, contemporary Romanian artistic experience is forming and determining a new, socialist intellectuality and contributing to a system of values wherein the human personality will be fully developed.

But it should be noted that the artist's relation to the masses' social and national aspirations does not annihilate the irreducible vision of his creative individuality. On the contrary, the dialectics of the relation of the individual to the social strikingly reveals the fact that the constant interaction of individual thought and vision with social reality (in the broad sense) enhances, broadens and refines the message of the work. Of course no individuality is conceivable that is restricted and reduced to itself. The creative attitude in art cannot be understood apart from the organic relationship between the individual and the social. On the contrary, it can be said that this relationship unleashes the artist's creative energies and guides him toward the major centers of interest in the relation of his art to reality. It is a false idea that if he represents the masses' aspirations the artist would have nothing to do but passively "reflect" the values of his environment without playing any part in determination of the social imperatives. But it is sufficient to think of Eminescu, Sadoveanu and Tudor Arghezi, of Lucian Blaga, Rebreanu or Marin Preda, Eneanu, Ciucureanu or Brancusi, to mention only a few, in order to clearly realize that in their works the individual-social relationship took the form of a high idea of the destinies of art and of the great mission they undertook in shaping the definitive characteristics of the Romanian artistic perception. But the artists' and authors' acceptance of the masses' social and national ideals does not in itself bring about the value and lasting quality of the work. Not all writers who embraced the peasants' ideals of freedom and justice, for example, (Think of sowerism and popularism) have ipso facto created lasting works. The personality, talent, and power to

create and communicate are decisive there. Camil Petrescu's novel "A Man Among Men" is an aesthetic value and a work that has lent brilliance to Romanian literature. The same cannot be said of a number of older or more recent works that have treated the same important subjects but do not qualify as valuable artistic creations.

The history of creative literature and art shows that the Romanian people's aspirations to freedom, social justice, independence and sovereignty have been and are served by authentic artistic works. In Romania the era of the "sociological /Illegible/," which became a kind of flat, redundant illustrativism, has unquestionably passed. The formation of the aesthetic consciousness has undergone an essential change, namely extensive abandonment of the opportunistic, topical route with minimal aesthetic and philosophical commitment, as well as abandonment of the facile, psychological and impressionistic exercise in favor of posing problems of authentic depth and of construction /Illegible/ vision. In his speech at the Conference of the Union of Plastic Artists in 1975, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu very clearly said that we do not want any kind of work with a subject content, but subject works executed with artistic skill, works presenting our entire people's labor, life and zeal in constructing life and the new society, works presenting the history and heroic struggle of the masses and the communists for freedom and national independence, for social and national justice, and for socialism. But all this must be presented in an artistic form demonstrating the talent and creative power of the creators of beauty for the intellectual powers of the people.

Art and Aesthetic Education of the Masses

Art's noble duty to embrace and serve the masses' social ideals must be combined naturally with its obligations in the way of aesthetic education. Considered from this standpoint, the problem should be studied under other headings, since one cannot speak of art and the masses in general. The arts do not all have equally the same capacity to influence and educate, because they cannot have the same language or the same way of entering the inner texture of human feelings. What is to be expected of literary prose is not suitable for decorative art, for example, just as we cannot equate literature and architecture and make the same demands upon them. An aquarelle landscape lacks the civic mobilizing power of a militant drawing or a political poster. Poetry's way of educating differs from that of the theater and cinema and from that of the operetta or musical hall etc. Therefore it follows that when it comes to aesthetic education the "popular masses" (a category of sociology and political ideology) are divided into particular "publics" when it is a question of any given form of artistic manifestation, whether it is an exhibit, film, opera, symphony etc. This is quite natural because all do not have the same sensory equipment, the same artistic preferences and inclinations or the same artistic culture. One man of the public has no ear for music but is gifted with unusual color perception and does not like opera but is fond of the circus, etc. Another cannot distinguish colors, prefers the theater and cinema and proves to be a devotee of light music. Another turns off the radio when a symphony is transmitted but tunes in for a program of popular music or songs, etc. Of course this is not a matter "tastes" or "inclinations" alone but also of artistic culture and the time invested to cultivate a given field of art.

As Marx said on this subject, "Who wishes to enjoy art must have artistic culture." In this respect the masses' aesthetic education (and general cultural education) necessarily requires a constantly active two-way relationship, from the artist and art to the masses and from the masses to art and the artist. The great artists of Romanian culture, as of all the world's cultures, have always communicated with the masses because they were forming "a viewpoint" for contemporaries and because they

wanted to be understood, known and heard by them. But a Picasso or a Brancusi, for example, cannot be understood without artistic culture although it is accessible in intent and in artistic formula. "Guernica" or "The Skilled Bird" [Pasarea Maitra] are not works "for the understanding of all," even if the title of the picture or sculpture coincides with the image represented or suggested to special knowledge. This by no means indicates that they were created for privileged groups, elite tastes etc. The artist (poet, novelist, playwright, painter, sculptor or musician) educates aesthetically only if the public for his art and work makes efforts to approach and assimilate his message. The fact should also be recorded here that an artist may be trying (note Tudor Vianu) to institute a new viewpoint regarding form and language in general. Within this process, the effort to innovate and discover becomes paramount, that is a discovery in the intrinsic fundamentals of art, a discovery that cannot be spontaneously accepted and understood by all artists or the entire public. The innovation opens up (as a fundamental viewpoint in art) the possibility of the appearance of a new style through the vision and work of an individual, but the formation and institution of the new artistic style extends over historical periods. For example, the transition from the figurative to the nonfigurative form in painting or sculpture was the result of essential changes in the aesthetic functions of the artistic language, and it was a transition that was not accepted and understood at first by the entire art-loving public. Such characteristics of creative work show that all cannot be expected from art and nothing from the public, especially when the Romanian public has quite exceptional opportunities to cultivate and practice the arts. On the other hand it is quite impossible to ask the artistic brigades to resolve the state of the production plan etc. through satire and humor.

But to pursue this train of thought, perhaps we should ask ourselves what we mean by the idea of "accessibility" in reference to art. If "to be accessible" means "to be understood," what do we mean when we state that art is to be understood? Everyone will say that Eminescu is accessible, but it is by no means certain that everyone understands Eminescu. Therefore to be accessible does not always and necessarily mean to be understood because "understanding of art" requires artistic culture depending on the work we are looking at.

When we suggest or require that the artist be accessible it means we are asking him to mobilize all his capacities to penetrate into the sensibilities of the receiver, where his work is actually "understood." For the artist, accessibility is the capacity to form and communicate emotions. For the public, it is the capacity (acquired through artistic culture and the effort to approach and to know) to receive and assimilate. Accessibility is a category of relationships and not an intrinsic attribute of the work. There are many accessible works (in the sense that we understand rationally what the subject is, especially in the arts of the language) that communicate nothing, just as there are also many spectators who are not accessible to the great and authentic works of art but who, on the other hand, are fascinated by ridiculous works.

Another consequence of the study of the art-public relationship lies in the fact that in the process of the masses' aesthetic education (in the sense that each art creates its public), art mobilizes all its specialties, namely literary and artistic criticism, history of literature and art, philosophical aesthetics and theory of the arts, psychology and sociology of art, etc. The institutionalized system of culture, education etc. is added to these fields.

The act of criticism is highly important in the aesthetic education of the community. Criticism in the higher sense of the word, namely a philosophically and aesthetically substantiated value judgment, is decisive there, among other things. Much has been written and said in Romania recently on the functions of literary and artistic criticism. It is in the nature of things because it carries on a worthy tradition under the requirements of aesthetic education of the masses or the various categories of the public interested in art. The question is whether the way criticism performs is satisfactory or not. The critics themselves, or most of the best ones, have not hesitated to state that the critic's function is sometimes undermined, in its reason for being, by attitudes contrary to the healthy cultural climate. There are critics who allow their critical opinions to be guided far too much by professional pride. But it is not different critical judgments, which are normal and understandable in themselves, that perplex and confuse the public but value judgments at opposite poles, from the blind superlative to the even more blind rejection, clearly betraying the spirit of "selective affinity." Indecision in judgment, lukewarm reviews (which do not irritate), and language that is sometimes too affected and stilted are all situations that divert the critical act from its essential purpose of objectively promoting the values in the records where they become living values. Literary and artistic criticism is the field of intellectual activity that reveals to the public the ways of assimilating the work of art. It provides the means whereby the public itself will find the centers of its intellectual radiation when it has them. But its chief mission is to discover and multiply them and to form "viewpoints" around it. It will not discover them if the artist is censured as a man (with sympathy or antipathy), but by studying the intellectual work with great integrity.

The more complex aspects and problems of aesthetic education appear in the perspective of theoretical activity, because that is the framework for enhancing the capacity for perception and judgment of value. Having artistic culture means being able to extract or derive a criterion for judgment from direct contact with the work and to formulate, justify and substantiate a value judgment through knowledge of the particular type of language (plastic, musical, literary et al.). Relating aesthetic education to the constituent factors and structures of the aesthetic consciousness brings out the complexity of the educational process and the multitude of levels to which the receiving subject must relate in order to comprise and understand the particular movements of a given artistic period.

Thanks to the RCP's revolutionary-humanist cultural policy and the combined efforts of the creators in the field of "the beautiful," of the literary and artistic critics and historians, and of the aestheticians and men of culture in general, the emotional charge of art has penetrated more deeply in recent years into the aesthetic sensibilities and consciousness of the community.

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UNITY, DIVERSITY IN CONTEMPORARY MARXIST THOUGHT

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[Article by Univ Prof Dr Gh. Al. Cazan]

[Text] The problem of unity and diversity of Marxist thought has been a subject of discussion and theoretical confrontation since the revolutionary conception of the working class was formed, becoming increasingly complex with more intensive study of the history and organization of the political parties of the proletariat and the growing role and influence of the Marxist theory in the world.

The unity of Marxist thought essentially coincides with the need of creative application of the principles of dialectical and historical materialism to the social-historical conditions of the world of today and to the conditions in which every party of the working class operates.

Theoretical Confrontations on Unity and Diversity

Marxist thought is uniform in spirit and in the ideal for which it militates, namely abolition of exploitation of man by man and alienations of the human being, and the triumph of socialism and communism. Its diversity is also a necessity because the same general principles of research and analysis and the same spirit are applied by different people and political forces under different circumstances.

Creative theory is usually a collective creation today. In the field of Marxist thought it is primarily the result of the theoretical activity of the communist and labor parties, which operate in countries with different developmental levels, different social-political systems and a wide variety of scientific and cultural traditions and social-historical and political realities. Of course this calls for a great diversity of efforts and an accordingly great diversity of solutions to the problems confronting each party. This diversity of efforts is more apparent in the social-political problems and those of strategy and tactics and ways of achieving socialist society than it is in the general ontological problems, although there is no uniformity of views on them either.

The history of Marxist thought as well as social-political experience show that scientific understanding of the relationship between the unity and diversity of Marxist thought is one of the main sources of development of the revolutionary theory and a sine qua non for the growth of its capacity for correct interpretation of the evolution of the world and for its revolutionary reform.

Two attitudes toward Marxism can be distinguished in general in contemporary non-Marxist ideology, one that professes Marx' creative theoretical work in itself but does not accept the political conclusions of Marxist philosophy, and a conservative attitude characterized by rejection of Marxism.

The representatives of the first view (J. P. Sartre, M. Merleau-Ponty, C. L. Strauss etc.) make an important contribution to development of the theory in various fields of the human sciences such as anthropology, philosophy of culture, philosophy of history, theory of knowledge, epistemology etc. The exponents of the second view mostly take anticommunist and antidemocratic stands, like the "new philosophers" or the adherents of the "new right" for example. Along with their denial of Marxism from reactionary positions, they reject democracy and humanism regardless of their historical forms. Using sophistries and ignoring the dialectics of unity and diversity, they oppose Marx to Engels, Marx and Engels to Lenin, and Marx, Engels and Lenin to the ideology of the communist and labor parties of our time. The purpose of these attempts is to falsify Marxism, to confuse the masses in order to alienate them from their revolutionary ideology and in general to defend the realities of the capitalist world and the capitalist system.

Some of the bourgeois interpreters of Marxist thought make absolutes of the discontinuity and diversity of its aspects to prove that it is a theoretical impossibility to speak of "Marxism." Adherents of the so-called theory of "pluralism of Marxism" also take such stands, for the general purpose of discrediting what is everlasting in the revolutionary conception of the working class, namely abolition of exploitation of man by man and the objective necessity of socialist revolution and construction. The proliferation of this anti-Marxist and anticommunist theory in the United States, France, West Germany etc. , as well as the conception of the "new right" or the "new philosophy," reflect the crisis of the capitalist system and conservative ideology and the latter's inability to relate objectively to the changes characteristic of the present period.

As we know some viewpoints and trends developed within the labor movement that were contrary to the creative spirit characteristic of the revolutionary theory and could not contribute to the development of Marxist thought.

Dogmatism played a negative part in that respect. From the theoretical standpoint, it reduces Marxist thought to a collection of points and principles considered valid once and for all, and it also reduces the richness of life and its dialectics to abstract formulas. It reduces dialectical and historical materialism and scientific communism to a few laws and then tries to explain the diversity of the world by them. Dogmatism is metaphysical in essence. It replaces comprehensive investigation of the phenomena with a narrow arbitrariness and usually substitutes voluntarism for specific-historical analysis.

In making "unity" of thought within Marxism absolute, dogmatism took a metaphysical view of the relation between the general and particular, underrating or even denying the particular and the laws and traits characteristic of the various countries or social-historical phenomena. The dogmatic spirit obdurately opposed diversity of thought, with bad effects upon creative Marxist theory but also upon practical activity of building socialist society and organizing the class struggle of the proletariat in the capitalist countries.

The RCP considers unity of Marxist thought feasible solely on the basis of creative application of dialectical and historical materialism and the principles of

scientific socialism to the processes characteristic of the present world and to the particular conditions under which each revolutionary party of the working class operates. The RCP also feels that unity of thought and action, as a new kind of unity, necessarily requires observance of each party's political independence and its right to form its domestic and international policies independently. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, the diverse conditions under which the communist and labor parties operate "require each party to develop its political policy and revolutionary strategy and tactics independently and in keeping with the realities of the respective country, in order to find the right solutions for the revolutionary reform of society."

The RCP believes unity of thought requires a creative approach both to the theoretical legacy of the Marxist-Leninist classics and to the immediate realities. From firm positions of dialectical and historical materialism and scientific communism, the RCP ceaselessly militates to strengthen and develop the new kind of unity of Marxist thought and action through the conception it is developing and in its entire political practice.

To this end special emphasis is placed upon the necessary development of the dialogue and theoretical discussion, in an atmosphere of mutual respect and understanding, of all problems confronting the communist and labor parties including the differences of opinion that have occurred and are still occurring in the labor movement. As it says in the RCP Program, "The differences of opinion on the various problems of contemporary development that are bound to arise under the present conditions must in no way interfere with collaboration and solidarity among the parties."

In the RCP's documents as well as in its political practice, emphasis is placed upon thorough knowledge of other communist and labor parties' experience, upon scientific study of each individual party's contribution to development of revolutionary thought and practice, upon what unites and not what separates one party from another.

RCP's Contribution to Creative Development of Marxist Thought

Creatively applying Marxism to Romania's conditions, once political power was gained by the working class in alliance with the working peasantry and the other categories of workers, the RCP prepared a scientific program for national progress on the path of socialist construction, concentrating its efforts on restoration and development of working class unity, formation of the socialist sector in industry, organization of the state sector in agriculture and cooperativization of agriculture, and improvement of the public's material and cultural living standard. Determination of the party's uniform, scientific conception of the basic objectives and directions of general economic, scientific and cultural development played an important part in building the new society. The methods of implementing those processes are themselves contributions to the creative application and development of Marxism in Romania.

The period since the Ninth RCP Congress, which bears the stamp of Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu's tireless thought and activity, has inaugurated a new era of decisive importance to the history of our entire people. Marxist thought in Romania has entered upon a new stage of its development, characterized by creative originality, versatility, objective scientific spirit, revolutionary boldness and realism, and a comprehensive dialectical approach to socialist construction and the changes in the contemporary world.

The concept of a fully developed socialist society is one of the most important theoretical problems extensively studied by the RCP. It marks a stage characterized by intensive progress of the productive forces, rapid development of industry, agriculture and the other economic sectors on the basis of the latest scientific and technical advances, and by proper distribution of the productive forces throughout the whole nation to permit harmonious national development and gradual equation of city and village. Reflecting constant improvement of socialist production relations and of the entire people's material and cultural living standard, scientific and cultural development, and formation of the well-rounded human personality, the concept of the fully developed socialist society demonstrates the processual character of socialist society, the existence of definite stages of socialist construction, and the existence of a specific dialectic of the entirety of the processes characteristic of this historically important phenomenon.

The concept of the fully developed socialist society is an original contribution to development of Marxist thought concerning the general-particular relationship in socialist construction, action and the objective-subjective correlation, and the relationship between the general laws of social development and the particular laws of the present period.

Accordingly the problem of the relationship between the idea of the existence of a uniform socialist economy in Romania and the view of Romania as a developing country is a theoretical problem of great importance to both thought and practical activity. The two ideas are not mutually exclusive or contradictory. The nature of the production relations characteristic of the Romanian economy and the elimination of the exploiting classes show that we are among the most advanced countries from the standpoint of the social system. But the level of the national income, the ratio between the labor forces in industry and agriculture, etc. indicate a major gap between Romania's economic development and that of the developed countries and that Romania is actually a developing country. Definition of Romania as a socialist country and also a developing one corresponds to the objective reality, considering the nature of its economic, political and social relations on the one hand and the level of its economic development and especially of its productive forces on the other.

Dialectical interpretation of the two aspects of the Romanian reality enabled the party to develop a realistic strategy to raise Romania to a high level of industrial, agricultural, scientific and cultural development and enhancement of the people's welfare.

One of the problems the RCP has been emphasizing is that of the nature and role of the contradictions in socialism and the ways of resolving them. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, scientific analysis of the socioeconomic facts of socialism "definitely demonstrates that there are still contradictions in socialist society and that even new ones will arise. Some of them may become antagonistic and can place great difficulties in the way of building the new social order."

Antagonistic contradictions are caused by the various forms of ownership, by the discrepancy between the development of production forces and relations on the one hand and the forms of production organization and management on the other, by the differences between city and village, by disregard of the objective laws of social development, by the great gaps between incomes, etc. The contradictions are not only a reality under socialism but also a motive force of general development. That is why the RCP considers it one of its most important tasks to study them intensively, to

determine them, and to take purposeful action so that they will not spread, become antagonistic and lead to violent clashes. This necessarily requires development of the role of the subjective factor and especially of the party.

The RCP has made an outstanding contribution to development of the Marxist theory of the nation and its role under the conditions of the present period in general and under those peculiar to socialist society in particular. In the historical-materialist view the nation is not a historically outmoded reality, just as the policy of national unity and development of the socialist nation is not indicative of an unscientific position that opposes the nation to socialist internationalism. On the contrary, real history demonstrates that in some states the process of forming the nation is not yet complete, while in the developed countries some features of the nation perform a progressive function. On the other hand the victory of socialism creates new conditions for the nation's advancement and development. Under socialism the nation acquires superior characteristics and constitutes a motive force for development of socialist society. Every nation's consolidation and development and its continued prosperity are factors for strengthening internationalist solidarity.

Scientific analysis of the relationship between social existence and social awareness has had and still has an important role in the party's whole creative theory. The RCP does not consider the lag of social awareness behind social existence inevitable. Therefore it has developed a revolutionary concept of the place and role of political and ideological education in the formation of the new man and in socialist construction in general, and of the ways of forming the fully developed personality. Preparation of the standards of socialist ethics and justice is highly important in this respect, and their application reflects the party's deep concern for the individual and his needs, for the enhancement of democracy, freedom and justice, and for respect for the human being.

The essential characteristic of the analysis of these problems lies in their specific-historical treatment on the basis of the socioeconomic, political and cultural facts and experience with socialist construction in Romania and other countries.

The RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism, the party's ideological, theoretical and political charter, fully reflects the RCP's contribution to the growing prestige and influence of Marxist thought in the world of today and to the creative development of dialectical and historical materialism. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu writes, "The Program scientifically substantiates the basic principles of the fully developed socialist society as a higher stage of socialism, as well as a number of processes in the transition to communism and characteristics of the communist order." The determination of the content of this stage in the RCP Program illustrates the processual nature of Marxist thought in Romania and its vital character in constant change and development.

In summarizing the directions of Romania's development in constructing the fully developed socialist society and advancing toward communism, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that "This stage secures the all-around, harmonious and uniform development of the productive forces and all socioeconomic activities, and it coordinates the forces and relations of social production more and more completely. The fully developed socialist society creates the material and cultural conditions for complete implementation of the socialist principles of ownership and distribution." Gradual transition to communism is considered a "uniform dialectical process" and a purposeful construction of the masses. This process fosters the leadership of the party,

which concentrates its efforts on intensification of the revolutionary spirit, scientific organization of all social activity, and further improvement of social experience. By virtue of its dialectical spirit, its bold and daring thought, and its solutions to life's great problems, the RCP Program is profoundly humanistic and better expresses the Romanian people's way of life and thought and the harmonious combination of this way with the spirit of dialectical and historical materialism and with the current advances of science and culture.

In view of the complexity of Romania's present stage, the documents of the 12th Party Congress formulated the concept of a socialist country with a medium development. It also demonstrated the importance of the qualitative processes in building the fully developed socialist society, making an important contribution to the concept of the quality of socialist life and to the ways and means of developing it.

The victories the Romanian people have won under the party's leadership, the development of the productive forces, the improvement of production relations and social organization and management, the continuing democratization of all activity, and the enhancement of the entire people's material and cultural living standard reflect the truth of the RCP's creative theory and the validity of the principles and ideas it has developed and of its whole conception of the world and life.

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NEW TREATMENT FOR PSYCHOPATHIC ILLNESSES

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[Article by Liviu Timbus]

[Text] In spite of the numerous and spectacular successes of modern therapy, psychopathic illnesses further involve the foggiest realm of medicine nowadays. True, more than before the specialists have in this nebulous realm also deciphered etiological chains and identified many psychopolluting factors and various diagnostic and therapeutical procedures today considerably help to attenuate some serious anomalies of the central and peripheral nervous system. Nevertheless, nobody so far has invented a drug that would -- like the antibiotics -- liquidate the "germs" of dementia or a vaccine that would destroy the "viruses" of deliriant psychoses. Psychotherapy further requires special vocation, medical staff with comprehensive training, endowed with intuition and also equally with heaps of patience and inexhaustible resources of tact, comprehension and self-control.

That is why we were very surprised when we received a letter addresses to our newspaper informing us that people in Pitesti invented a drug capable of curing in a record period of time a whole array of serious psychopathic illnesses. The writer of the letter, engineer A. C., informs us that he is one of the happy recipients of the terrific drug produced at the Laboratory of Mental Hygiene of the county by psychiatrist Victoria Irimia. Here are a few passages from the letter involved:

"My name is A. C., I am an engineer by profession and for many years I was suffering from a psychopathic ailment known as paranoid schizophrenia.... After each attack, the illness worsened visibly so that 4 years ago my condition compelled me to retire for medical reasons.... Fortunately, my family surrounded me with indulgence and understanding but the withdrawal from my work collective aggarvated my disease even more.... In an extremely serious condition I came to the medical office of Dr Victoria Irimia where I received an outpatient treatment. The medicine (or medicine?) injected had an unexpected effect.... At this point I feel perfectly healthy. I have resumed my activity with the enterprise for which I worked before I became ill. I take this opportunity to extend millions of thanks to my savior, Dr Victoria Irimia."

In Pitesti Municipality, at the Laboratory for Mental Hygiene, I read similar letters, all written and signed by former patients of Dr Victoria Irimia. Thus I found out that many of the authors of these statements manifested until recently -- as proved in their medical files -- serious behavioral disturbances and psychopathic ailments assessed as serious or very serious.

What is the characteristic of the treatment proposed and tested by psychiatrist Victoria Irimia?

Unfortunately, our trip to the Pitesti Laboratory for Mental Hygiene did not provide us, to the expected extent, with an answer to the repeated questions as to the nature, genesis and effectiveness of the "mysterious" drug. Extremely courteous and talkative, our hostess and interviewee, Dr Victoria Irimia tried to convince us that for now one can only talk about a work hypothesis, that the administration of the drug only has an experimental character, that its testing proceeded in conjunction with the Bucharest clinic of psychiatry and hence, that we will be able to have definite data only when the researchers will have a far ampler casuistic volume.

At that point I explained to our interviewee that in this context the role of the reporter is to cancel by precise information the rumors that have begun to develop around the psychotherapeutical methods used at the Pitesti medical facility involved.

In the end Dr Victoria Irimia told us the following: It is a matter of a unique mixture of medication with disinhibitory effects. By this treatment we act not only on the subject's area of affectivity but also in the area of his thinking process. It is not a matter of a miraculous drug that swiftly eliminates the suffering, as some hastened to label it. Unfortunately, in psychotherapy this thing has not been possible so far. But we have obtained good and even excellent results in various serious diseases: paranoid schizophrenia, atypical affective psychoses, melancholia, and hallucinatory and deliriant conditions. The patients with these illnesses, often regarded as irremediable, sometimes are excluded from the life of the community and are compelled to live isolated from society. Our medication resolves the first stage in the patient's process of recovery: his becoming aware. Extricated from the condition of unconsciousness, the patient becomes cooperative, consequently capable of listening to the doctor's advice and of battling by himself for the clarification of his mental universe.

[Question] What are the subsequent steps?

[Answer] Follows hard work that involves tact and patience, but the patient, feeling that he is assisted, proves to be docile and submissive. Sometimes it is harder to battle with those who are in the patient's proximity: parents, relatives, work mates. More than once our actions come up against the pre-conceived idea that the psychopathic patient is aggressive and inclined to harm production activity and community life, that he mandatorily requires swift and complete isolation. According to others, the psychopathic patient is nothing else than a lazy faker and he can only be controlled by

coercive measures. It is difficult to explain to such people that the mental patient most often is an affectively frustrated person, that by detecting the psychopolluting factors the harmful sites can be extirpated and the patient can be guided along the path of reason and normal social activity. The causes which may trigger or foster this type of ailments are very diversified. We cannot act directly in all cases, but we must be involved even if we only use advice and specialized recommendations. For instance, thanks to our involvement and thanks to our social welfare service, the managerial bodies and trade union committees of major enterprises in Arges County changed the working and housing conditions for hundreds of workers. These are prophylactic measures that can prevent the appearance of psychopathic illnesses or the aggravation of the existing ones.

[Question] Let us go back to the drug which is so much talked about in your town.

[Answer] I told you that it is a mixture of drugs and the final results will be known and reported only in a few months time.

[Question] We would like to know how many serious cases have been treated so far.

[Answer] In the county's area, approximately 2000 patients with various illnesses received dispensary treatment. All received conventional treatment (known medication, electrotherapy, psychological and biological therapy) and in specific cases the medication suggested and tested by our collective. All of them are working people. From among the patients with disability pensions, victims of ailments which so far had been assessed as incurable, 39 were cured. All these resumed work in the field of production and display a normal behavior.

The figure may seem insignificant to some specialists but it indicates a genuine therapeutical miracle. Resolving such border cases, in other words, changing a mental patient into a normal person, bringing light where for many years, darkness and lack of consciousness prevailed -- all this bears witness to a medical occurrence that may be assessed as an exception among exceptions. We could supplement our report with statements made by patients who were receiving treatment at the time of our visit to the Laboratory for Mental Hygiene. They are emotional testimonies of people recently saved from the kingdom of darkness. But bound by an initial promise, we will provide these details only after the drug achieved by Dr Victoria Irimia is patented. However, we feel that good news in itself is a therapeutical factor even if it only is instrumental in fostering the hopes of some patients or in anticipating -- as the above report proves -- the probable appearance of some pharmaceutical preparations with exceptional value in the treatment of mental diseases.

ROMANIA

INTERVIEW WITH ACUPUNCTURE SPECIALIST

Bucharest *FLACARA* in Romanian 27 Nov 80 p 9

[Interview with Dr C. Ionescu-Tirgoviste by N. Grigore Marasanu]

[Text] Dr C. Ionescu-Tirgoviste is a doctor of medical sciences, project leader at the Clinic for Nutrition and Metabolic Diseases in Bucharest. He was on specialized tours of duty in Italy, the German Democratic Republic, and the People's Republic of China, some of them with the focus on acupuncture, a realm in which he also gave specialized courses abroad. He also is a member of prestigious foreign acupuncture societies. He is the author of more than 170 surveys, including (in cooperation) three reference monographs.

[Question] The work you have been conducting for several years now at the Clinic for Nutrition currently interlocks with research. Do you feel that investigation and overall use of the results is only the prerogative of gifted people, a passion, or the obligation of every specialist?

[Answer] In the current context of the integration of specialized education with medical care and research, this last element of the triad is dialectically mandatory. However, I make a distinction between the obligativity that results from vocation and conscience and formal obligativity, based on mere completion of more or less unique and necessary projects, laid down in a particular work plan. In this light, the status of research at the Clinic for Nutrition and Metabolic Diseases is somehow privileged, because our collective and each individual member have asserted themselves, depending on possibilities, domestically and internationally. Our recent Congress on Nutrition and Metabolic Diseases made it possible for a collective with a high-standard potential in research, to sail into the specialized scientific world. And to confirm my statement I would recall a few of the accomplishments of our collective: bringing under 1 percent, from 15 percent, the death rate caused by diabetic coma, extending the average survival time of diabetic children, impressively reducing the cardiovascular complications in patients with dyslipidemia, registered at the Center for Nutrition and Metabolic Diseases, developing unique therapeutical procedures recognized as priorities internationally, initiating prospective investigations on preventing diabetes mellitus, and so forth.

[Question] In the same context, please assess the extent to which college studies and training also shape the would-be specialist for research.

[Answer] The Romanian higher medical school can pride itself with high-caliber practitioners, who can cope with the strictest demands of medical service.

What can be reproached to it and what even has been reproached more than once to it by medical personalities and by former graduates is rigid conservatism, specifically in terms of curricula that have been unchanged for many decades now. This also accounts for the absence, that has been noticed for many years now, of the discipline of nutrition and metabolic diseases from the instructional program of higher medical education.

Far more deficient, in the context of medical science and practice, is the training for research of the prospective specialist during college years. While supervising the diploma projects of some graduates I realized that they did not even master the alphabet of scientific research. This kind of precise methodology is acquired under the competent guidance and strict supervision of a teacher, he himself an authority in the field. Unfortunately, it is seldom that the passion of a student to conduct research, not only to become a narrow, common practitioner, meets the generosity of a master with the sense of perspective.

[Question] You also use acupuncture, a therapeutical method that has more and more frequently been used in this country, as almost everywhere in the civilized world. As also one of its acknowledged promoters internationally, what is your view as to the current stage and status of Romanian acupuncture?

[Answer] My first contact with acupuncture occurred in my student years and my initiator in this field was Dr Ion Bratu who, at that time, was working at the rheumatology center, a scientist whose laborious activity focused attention on this method of treatment at home and abroad. Surprised at the therapeutical effects, sometimes unexpectedly good in many ailments, and encouraged in this field by academician Stefan Milcu and the late outstanding academician Aurel Moga, I continued my activity so that concurrently with the general assertion of Romanian acupuncture, I had the opportunity of publishing in almost all the prestigious specialized publications in the world, of participating in outstanding international events devoted to this topic, and also gave lectures and even courses abroad. But I am chiefly gratified for the assertion of this old and constantly effective therapeutical method in the area of Romanian medicine, this in spite of some reservations and even opposition at the beginning. Actually, Romania is the first European country where this therapeutical method was officially accepted (1959) and also the country where a number of priorities of the field were confirmed, a fact that points out the prestigious input of recognized specialists such as Prof N. N. Gheorghiu, Dr Traian Craciun or Dr D. Constantin. As far as I am concerned, in addition to the current assignment to give advancement courses in acupuncture organized by the specialized center of the Ministry of Health, I have been lately involved with applying this procedure

in metabolic diseases (obesity, dyslipidemia, some forms of polyneuritis), and determining some analogies between the traditional concept and the modern concept on physiological nutrition.

[Question] And in conclusion, in your view, what should be done to make the dialog with the scientific world as fruitful as possible for us, Romanians?

[Answer] Romania's international assertion in the scientific field is one of the chief duties of our research workers. The absence of Romanian surveys from this kind of scientific confrontation can only be regarded as an abdication from the fulfillment of this sacred duty. Unfortunately, sometimes, one is also placed in this kind of situation by some restrictions of the Ministry of Education and Instruction which for college staff limits participation to the period of vacation, despite the fact that it is contained in the firm cooperation plan of the Romanian Academy or the National Council for Science and Technology. Confident as I am that scandalous forfeitures of certain credits can no longer occur now, as did occur when the Nobel Prize was awarded to researchers other than the actual holder of paternity in the discovery of insulin, the great Romanian scientist Paulescu, I cannot help, however, remarking that we still witness the transfer of some results of Romanian research to the scientific patrimony of other countries. While the first and finest memory of my scientific debut internationally is tied to the fact that the Romanian flag was waving on the facade of the stately building which housed the meeting where I was giving a report, I wish that under this flag, dear to our heart and highly honored in the world, we may assert all that is more valuable to us and worthy of the national genius.

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WEST GERMAN COMMENT ON DIVERGENT VIEWS ON DISSIDENCE

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 9 Jan 81 p 10

[Report by Viktor Meier: "On One Side Ribicic, on the Other Dolanc--Differing Voices in Yugoslavia"]

[Text] Ljubljana, January 1981--Poor economic conditions cause poor political conditions; it is time for the Yugoslavs to start some rethinking. That is the tenor of a remarkable interview given recently by Mitja Ribicic, chairman of the Popular Front in Slovenia, to the Zagreb magazine START. The Yugoslavs should not be so sensitive toward differing opinions, said this politician, heretofore classified as rather dogmatic. The "press hostile toward Yugoslavia" was being regarded as a matter of national security and a matter for the Ministry of the Interior. That was nonsense; communists should not be afraid of confrontations in the political-ideological field.

Ribicic criticized the vehement attacks in Yugoslavia against Djilas' book about Tito published abroad, though no one in the country had had the opportunity to find out what Djilas actually had written. The situation was similar in the case of the exile press; while it was not necessary to hawk those journals in the street, they at least ought to be available for scholarly purposes.

Concerning policy, Ribicic remarked that some leading people understandably had been in something like shock after Tito's illness and his death. Many necessary measures had thus been postponed. During the time of Tito's illness the unity in the country had been complete, but now people were starting to wonder, "What now?" This is where opinions differed. While the Yugoslav working class was not asking whether there was a way other than self-administration, it was wondering how the system should be administered. Some people continued to favor a "policy of the easy line," with inflation and simply continuing to muddle through, as well as administrative measures--which was simpler--while others, wanting to get down to the root of the trouble, were no longer willing to share the burden with those working poorly. The stabilization program was constituting a line of separation. Perhaps also having in mind differences between Slovenia and other republics, Ribicic even said he was not at all unhappy about foreign countries no longer wanting to extend credit to Yugoslavia. This would at long last force people to think again and to change a number of things.

Ribicic, who at one time himself held the office of Yugoslav prime minister, enjoying little support in the process, criticizes the work of the Federal Executive Council, the Yugoslav government. He says the government is forming no strong entity capable of action but rather a group of people "fighting like cats and dogs." He does not mean to imply that Prime Minister Djuranovic should resign but only that the government should form an entity considering itself responsible for all of Yugoslavia's territory.

Ribicic's interview appears to have caused little joy among leading Yugoslav officials. Ribicic himself saw fit to weaken some of his language ex post facto in BORBA, but he did not take back any of his theses.

One cannot say that developments in Yugoslavia are at present taking the kind of course Ribicic would like them to take. The last session of the Central Committee in early December in Belgrade created the impression of a frightened attempt to remain at all costs on the orderly tracks of bureaucratic thinking. It was striking how much weight is being conceded to the medium-term development plan until 1985, now in the draft stage, as an instrument of economic policy. This does not quite fit in with the assurances that the market forces and free initiative are to be given greater scope in the future.

Another thing that was striking was the efforts of the officials to stay within the existing system under all circumstances. Changes in the system--this is evidently the demand from opposition or simply independently thinking circles that is causing the present leadership the greatest discomfiture. Dolanc made himself the spokesman of these fears when he labeled all those who wanted to make changes, without distinction, as enemies, regardless of whether these changes were to affect the economic system, the customs of cultural life or even the penal code.

The stands taken by Dolanc and the responsible Popular Front organization in Belgrade for the time being have frustrated administratively the attempts by intellectuals to also create a tribune for nonconformist opinions by founding new journals. These attempts were made at two places--in Slovenia by intellectuals of the most varied orientations and in Belgrade by the writer Dobrica Cosic and philosophy professor Ljubomir Tadic, who has now been dismissed for good. At both places it was not a question of wanting to create organs of oppositionist orientation; rather, the new publications were to be in the nature of free tribunes.

Dolanc resorted to simplifying labels, saying that the journal JAVNOST(Public) planned in Belgrade by Cosic and Tadic was an organ with a "Chetnik mentality," and the Slovene publication a "Catholic" paper. Actually Cosic was not with the nationalist Serbian Chetniks during the war but with the communist partisans, even as political commissar. Slovenes too found the justification strange. Only a few of the initiators think along Catholic lines. Besides, there already are some Catholic journals in Slovenia, though they may be distributed only in churches or by subscription.

One gets the impression that the regime is on the defensive here. In Slovenia, the thread of dialog does not appear to have been cut; cautious attempts are continuing there to find a solution. In Belgrade, Cosic and Tadic have stated openly that they do not want to put up with the veto.

The trial of the two Zagreb intellectuals Gotovac and Tudjman, which is primarily using evidence forcibly taken from foreign journalists by way of police arrest, will place Yugoslavia even further among those countries which come to international attention not only because of constant economic problems but above all by repressive measures against free speech. Ribicic's interview with START shows, however, that there are persons in the leadership who think differently.

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PROFESSOR TOMOVIC QUERIED ON PROBLEMS OF SELF-MANAGEMENT

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1562, 7 Dec 80
pp 9-10, 12

[Interview with Dr Rajko Tomovic, professor at the School of Electrical Engineering of Belgrade University, by Jug Grizelj: "Our Power To Make Decisions Depends on How Much We Know"]

[Text] NIN would have interviewed Dr Rajko Tomovic, full professor in the School of Electrical Engineering in Belgrade, in its series of interviews on consensus even if a few days ago he had not won the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Prize "for work and creativity of general significance to the development of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia." That is why this interview with Professor Tomovic was not congratulatory. Alongside Professor Tomovic's name the AVNOJ Prize Committee stated that he "had committed himself particularly to seeking answers to the question of what the most sophisticated technology means for our country and for its road to socialism." And that is precisely the topic we are interested in.

[Question] Many of those whom NIN has interviewed on the topic of consensus and the phenomenon of the partialization and closing-off of the Yugoslav market have said that many of these problems would not have arisen, not at least in such an acute form, if self-management had been carried out more consistently, from the base, and if associated labor had had stronger positions both in planning and also in making decisions on the essential questions of development. We are all likewise witnesses of a defective and outdated information system, and that applies to the flow of information in both directions. From forums to the citizens and from the citizens to forums and delegate centers of decisionmaking. To what extent are all these defective aspects inherent in such a broad system of decisionmaking, and to what extent are they the consequences of the imperfect nature of technology?

[Answer] The problem of information, of contacts, of communication in general is altogether subject to solution from the technical standpoint. The time of the courier, communication by wire, wireless communication, and

mail service is far behind us: we live in the era of the satellite telecommunication system which is able to supply information at any moment to any point of our planet, our country in particular. There also exist very effective systems for making decisions with the aid of computer networks whose inputs and outputs allow for two-way communication (terminals).

However, this is not merely a problem of technology. It is a question of the overall science--technology--society relationship viewed from the standpoint of the transformation of society. It is true that the discussions of this topic have not so far had a very wide public response, since they have mainly been conducted in restricted groups. It is a fact, however, that the problem of using technology in the development of social relations is imposing itself more and more as a most important question of development, not only the development of our society, but even, I would say, the development of all societies in the world.

As for the part of your question concerning extent and defectiveness, the following should be emphasized: self-management as a social relation which implies, as the very word says, management of oneself, is actually a model of society which cannot be imagined without complete and efficient information and communication in both directions. I would even say that self-management would have been equivalent to More's Utopia before present-day telecommunication systems were invented!

[Question] How do you account, then, for the assertion of some foreigners that self-management is a good thing, but inefficient?

[Answer] Remarks of that kind are not to be taken seriously by anyone with some familiarity of the present moment in the world's social development. It is the other way about. I would say that by attempting to develop new methods of human relations both in production and in public affairs Yugoslavia has today assumed responsibility for contributing to resolution of the crisis which is tearing the entire world asunder. Even many of our own people are not aware that it is the self-management we have set as a goal, with more or less success and the right solution, is a position which can again bring Yugoslavia, just as in 1941 and 1948, to mention only those two dates--into the front ranks of progress.

The development of technology in the world, that is, has seriously called into question both production and also management of social flows on the basis of traditional subordination, the role of the elite, and subordination in the production process. Just as production can no longer be imagined without teamwork and without broad participation of all the workers in decisionmaking and creativity, so it is no longer possible to conduct public affairs anywhere on elitist foundations and through forums. Everything that we see today, and which often is not altogether clear to us as a manifestation (student unrest, ferment in trade union movements, conflicts in reforms of education, and so on) is nothing other than a reflection of outdated methods of managing the economy and of conducting the business of the

government. When I say that the Yugoslav model bears great responsibility and has an important opportunity to contribute to the universal challenge consisting of the demand for participation in decisionmaking in production and in society, I am referring to the fact that it is inherent in societies based on private ownership or on state ownership to foster and maintain the role of narrow centers of power and forums which have their own channels of information, their own channels for gathering data and opinions.

[Question] Let us return to our specific topic: consensus. You recently said in a discussion that it is no accident that it is difficult to achieve agreements in the fields of petroleum, the automobile industry, electronics and certain other fields. Why is this not accidental?

[Answer] Take the example of the unified Yugoslav market. I think it is quite clear that even the most ordinary Yugoslav citizen is aware that to a large extent our difficulties are the result of construction of expensive systems which parallel one another and are not connected, systems which are developing autarkically, closing themselves off in the boundaries of their own influence. The rule has been, and there were no exceptions, that matters were first taken "to the point of no return," and only then was the public informed and were the opinions of the direct producers sought. If there is any question at all as to whether the proper decisionmakers, individual citizens and associated labor, could have been informed and consulted before the decisions were made which took matters to the point of no return, then the answer is yes. Of course they could have been informed if the intention had been there, at least from the technical standpoint.

Difficulties in conclusion of agreements among the republics and provinces are another example. It is certain that it is unacceptable for anything which is not in the interest of each of Yugoslavia's republics and provinces to become the interest of Yugoslavia, but it is also certain that in the closed circles in which attempts are made to reach agreement in the absence of the public decisionmaking becomes both much more difficult and frequently very questionable as well. That is why it is no accident that agreements have for so long a time been lacking concerning the petroleum industry, or that there is a great deal of foreign technology in the automobile industry, in electronics.... The datum that it is easier for us to establish links concerning key technologies with many multinational companies and, I would add, certainly with government-owned corporations than to agree among ourselves should arouse our serious concern. Even in these cases I am certain that the situation in which we have found ourselves is opposed to the real interests of associated labor. However, it has not had the information; accordingly, it has been unable even to communicate its opinion about some project it knew nothing about.

[Question] So you, then, just like the subjects of our previous interviews in this survey, take the view that associated labor at the base (with the exception of the top levels) has not been in a position to make decisions on certain key issues. How is this to be explained in a society whose

model, as you yourself have said, presupposes the broadest participation of the working people and citizens in decisionmaking?

[Answer] If the facts which have been mentioned and others unmentioned are accurate, then we truly are imperatively faced with a delicate and crucial question: the preconditions for self-management are here, but are not being taken advantage of. Why? We have already answered in the affirmative the question of whether it is technically possible to provide systematic information, contacts, large-scale opinion research and decisionmaking in both directions: yes, technical capabilities are no obstacle whatsoever. We thus obtain at least part of the answer which suggests the conclusion that power relations, inertia and the actual power of restricted groups are the reasons (if we also add the traditional bureaucratic mentality of the civil servant) behind the set of circumstances that have prevented self-management decisionmaking from having the depth presupposed by our essential commitments and declarations.

[Question] Give us a model that is possible and feasible today of a two-way information system and of a two-way decisionmaking system as well. Take, say, the example of a local community with respect, say, to adoption of the medium-term plan, so that this is not a formal acceptance, as is now frequently the case, when in general the news reports are an elaboration of generalities....

[Answer] First of all, there are two things I must say: first, in my involvement for a long time now on the development of information systems in self-management I have come to the conclusion that all the blame should not be put on the balance of power in society, but that we must take as our points of departure our general economic and technological status as well as our standard of living, and that copying the rest of the world and a direct transfer of information systems from other places will not be of much help. Even if we wanted a direct transfer, we would not have the money to pay for such expensive technology. Second: in order to introduce an information system that is technologically more up-to-date, new personnel have to be trained with a different approach and different way of thinking, and a far more democratic climate has to be created in the direction of self-management decisionmaking. Application of technology in present-day society does not depend solely on top-level technical experts and global commitments, this is a collective creative act by all of us and a most far-reaching act of creativity. But there is no creativity if personnel have been trained to a mediocre standard and have the orientation of bureaucrats. Allow me to quote a part of Lenin's idea expressed in a letter to Bukharin in 1921: "If you expel from the party all the people who are intelligent, but not altogether obedient, and you keep the obedient fools, it is quite certain that you will bring the party to ruin." I would only add that in such a situation it will never be possible to use technology for the self-management transformation of society.

As for democratization, so that there is no misunderstanding, I will also be clear on this point: I feel that the new way of using technology to humanize people's lives and decisionmaking without manipulation necessitates a radical rejection of all forms of imposed monolithism behind which there is disunity. Society at the present moment faces alternatives, not models which are unacceptable. It also necessitates authentic equality of everyone in expressing their dilemmas and proposals, so that each individual can be discussed, not only his statements, but also his way of life, his consistency and his personal ethics. Forums may not be untouchable with respect to democratic discussion concerning a man's character, responsibility and creativity.

You ask how it might look even today in some local community in Belgrade? I will take a Belgrade local community as an example since we in Belgrade are now near the end of introducing an information system, a data bank able to answer many relevant questions related to the city's development. Instead of expensive and incomprehensible reports, which are at the same time voluminous and often written in a confusing way, all citizens in the local community, when their opinion is being sought on some issue, can use their own terminal to put any specific question, with all the alternatives, to which they could obtain an answer. In one second the citizens in a particular local community would learn the kind of connection they would have to Zemun if they consent to construction of the subway, and what sort of connection they would have if new streetcar lines are built, exactly how much this would cost every worker in associated labor and every retired person when these investment projects were completed, and so on, and so on. At the same moment when they press the button they would also know when the clinical center will be ready, how much it would cost them if they pass an optional local contribution and invested their money to complete it earlier, to what extent that clinical center will correct the situation in the city, what specifically is to be done so that it will be better, and how much that will cost, and so on. At the same time, every citizen in the local community could express his opinion through that same information system, an opinion which otherwise is sought by law, and to take a specific position, which also might be statistically recorded.

[Question] Does this mean that technical advances in contemporary communications, say, make it possible to record at any moment how citizens feel concerning any particular issue?

[Answer] It certainly does. Indeed in certain countries we have already been able to see this even now. Haven't public opinion research institutions before elections in certain large countries of Europe and the world furnished accurate estimates of the ultimate outcome of the election?

[Question] You mean to say that this system of information as described for a local community in Belgrade which you have just been talking about could be set up tomorrow?

[Answer] As a practical matter, yes. The existing technology can be exclusively oriented toward improvement of flows of information and decision-making within the administration. It can also be turned toward the citizens. But the question which you have put goes much deeper: using technology to open the way to local communities and organizations of associated labor along the line extending from the administration to the citizens and the working people. This possibility has been incorporated into the Belgrade information system. The question now is no longer one of technology or administration, but a question of all the political factors as to whether a profound transformation will be accomplished in the direction you suggest.

[Question] A few years ago Kardelj cited in a frank discussion in a local community an interesting example as to how he saw the functioning of the delegate system in practice. He said: under the ideal conditions of the Yugoslav self-management delegate system, every citizen in the local community would decide on the kind of relations Yugoslavia is to have with Sweden and with Japan. Is that possible, at least as a vision?

[Answer] Our entire political thought, and its vision above all, have been conceived along those lines. Whether this will be done by our model of self-management or by some other better and different model is not a question which has importance to history. It is a fact that we have created a model of society in which the technological and social conditions converge for management of both production and society and in which the citizens will decide from the local community and basic organization of associated labor all the way to the Federation. There is no dispute, then, as to whether the technical capabilities of present-day communications can be applied in our system of self-management, but rather the question is whether the technical capabilities are to be put at the service of self-management transformation, and not just in declarations, since we have already done this as far as declarations go. The main question is to overcome the attitude of the civil servant, the attitude of the bureaucrat, the attitude of the forum, and to put all the creative forces in society at the service of carrying out those declarations.

At this moment it is clear that we have not crossed the "boundary of dreams," and therefore the question which NIN has put to me and to other participants in this survey is quite fitting and logical: Now that we have all the conditions for self-management, why is self-management not considerably better than it has been in the past? I would say that the answer is not simple, but I would also say that we should be persistent and consistent in seeking it. One thing is certain: present-day technology is no obstacle. Consequently, the causes should be sought in society.

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